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THE PANJAB PAST AND PRESENT

Vol. XXXXIII, Part-II

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ROCK CUT TEMPLES OF MASRUR (KANGRA)

*Renu Thakur**

Himachal Pradesh is essentially a hilly region. One of the greatest strengths of the state apart from its natural beauty is its rich cultural heritage. Thus it is one of the most preferred tourist destinations in India. Both national and international tourists visit Himachal throughout the year. The continuation of current political instability in Kashmir has further contributed to Himachal's tourist appeal. The state has large number of monuments which are remnants of multiple cultural currents and ideas. The art edifices exhibit assimilation of different ideas coming to the region from Rajasthan, Central India, Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh and also from central Asia.

The present paper examines the case of Masrur temples in Himachal Pradesh which have great potential to develop as an important centre of cultural tourism. Temple-complex is located at a village named Masrur that lies 48 km to the north-west of Kangra town in Himachal Pradesh (Plate I). It is a small village known for the only surviving example of rock cut temples in the state. These temples have been hewn out of a sandstone ridge. Masrur temples were scientifically examined by H. Hargreaves in 1913.¹ Alexander Cunningham surveyed the Kangra region in 1872-73 but made no mention of these temples.² These temples have been examined subsequently by Laxman S. Thakur,³ Krishna Deva⁴ and many other scholars. We visited this temple complex in June 2012 and noticed that these edifices belong to the Nagara style of temples and not Dravidian style as put forth earlier by Hargreaves.⁵

The main temple faces east (Plate II). There are 19 temples in total and are carved out of a single rock. The temple complex overlooks a large tank having fish in abundance (Plate III). This tank is an attraction for the visitors coming to

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1. Harold Hargreaves, 'The Monolithic temples of Masrur', *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports*, 1915-16, pp. 39-48.
2. There is no mention of these temples in the annual reports of Alexander Cunningham, however, they find mention in the list of Archaeological monuments prepared in 1875 and 1891, cited in Laxman S. Thakur, *The Architectural Heritage of Himachal Pradesh: Origin and Development of Temple Styles*, New Delhi, 1996, p. 39.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Krishna Deva, *Temples of India*, Vol. 1, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 219-21.
5. Harold Hargreaves, *op. cit.*, p. 45; Laxman S. Thakur refuted the view of Harold Hargreaves in 1996 and presently we also noticed that these are Nagara style temples; this temple style is also called northern style because this type of temple was commonly built in the north India from seventh-eighth century onwards.

the temple complex. Presently the sanctum of the temple has stone images of Rama, Lakshmana and Sita adorning it. The images are of later period. On each side of assembly hall there are stairs which lead to the top of the main temple. During our visit we noticed many visitors climbing those stairs and reaching at the top of main shrine. It has an ornate door which is perhaps one of largest of its kind in the state. The river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna can be seen flanking the doorway of the main shrines. The pillars of the *mandapa* are magnificently decorated; however, the walls of the *mandapa* are plain.

The lintel shows Shiva in the centre on the *lalata-bimba* which suggests that it was a temple dedicated to lord Shiva. The fashioning of the architectural forms out of the living rock occupies a prominent place in the development of creative art in India.⁶ Another example of rock architecture in north India can be seen at Damnar, district Mandsoor in Madhya Pradesh, that lies very close to the border of Rajasthan.⁷ The rock cut temple complex is surrounded by seven subsidiary shrines, four at the corners of the main temple. The doorway of the cella is lavishly decorated with beautiful carvings. The ceiling is also beautifully decorated with full-blown lotus (Plate IV). The niches of the subsidiary shrines preserve some lively sculptures carved in *situ* including Surya (Plate V), Karttikeya (Plate VI) and Vaikuntha Vishnu.

The production of rock cut architecture was maintained for long period in the form of *viharas*, chaityas and temples in different parts of the country. However, in north India we have only two such examples in the form of Masrur and Damnar.⁸ The temple of Kailash at Ellora is the magnificent and unrivalled example of rock cut architecture in India.

Presently the temple complex at Masrur is devoid of even basic facilities for the tourists. These temples stand at a remote location which is probably the major cause of their neglect. This neglected and isolated site can be developed into an important tourist destination with an objective for promoting a sustainable future of the cultural site because cultural areas are one of the most important destinations of tourists. Cultural tourism helps to explore a country or region's culture. Thus cultural tourism is one of the indicatives of the 'new tourism'.⁹ It not only promotes close interaction within the nation and the communities but also helps to develop international co-operation.¹⁰

The local community of the area should be apprised of the cultural value of the site for its peculiar features. The governments in consultation with professionals

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6. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)*, Bombay, 1965, chapters V, VI, XII and XV.
 7. Krishna Dev, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-34.
 8. Parts of western and south India have number of excellent specimens of rock cut architecture built by Buddhists, Jains and Brahmanas, see Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, chapter XV.
 9. Suteeshna Babu S., et al., *Tourism Development Revisited: Concepts Issues and Paradigms*, New Delhi, 2008, p. 55; also see J. Negi, *Tourism and Hoteliering: A World wide Industry*, New Delhi, 1982, chapter 1.
 10. Douglas Pearce, *Tourist Development*, New York, 1981, chapter 1.

could create public spaces, and the multi-layered history of the site should be explored. Environmental and access improvement can add to the importance of the village. The efforts of the government and non-government agencies can help promote public interest in the monument and its conservation and help to save it from future erosion. The pilgrims coming to the temple complex can be made aware that climbing up temple complex will play havoc with the fragile structure. When we visited the site no such instructions were available by which tourists could be instructed not to climb the temple structure, thus we made a verbal request to the visitors and also appraised the authorities.

Let us try to create an environment around this temple complex that attracts more people to visit this site and have a glimpse of the figured rock that has transformed the entire mountain ridge into this magnificent temple complex. While creating congenial environment around the complex, care should be taken to preserve and conserve the sculptures and temple complex at all costs. The public spaces, such as cafeteria, parks, mini market can be created at a little distance from the main complex to conserve this existing fabric which is the basis of Masrur's attraction. The accommodation for tourists (boarding house, camps, and hotels) is a priority in this village, as development of tourism demands the provisions and enhancements of facilities and services to meet the needs of the tourists visiting the site.

There is ample parking place for vehicles provided below the temple complex and a well-metalled road leading to the complex are a few steps in the right direction but much needs to be done by the state government in collaboration with private sector and the local people to develop Masrur as a place of tourist attraction that will attract tourists throughout the year and can add to the economy of the state. In the vicinity of the temple small market of local products can add importance of the region. Heritage preservation seems to be a very low priority on the government agenda. The temple complex at Masrur is yet to become an international tourist destination because it has not received due publicity in print media. Masrur has not been recognized as a potential tourist site in the compain of the incredible India. It needs to be assured that the pilgrims visiting the *Shakti pithas* of Kangra do not return without visiting this wonderful poetry created in stone.

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- III. Temple complex and the water pond in front of it.
- IV. The design of the full-blown lotus on the ceiling.
- V. Surya carved *in situ*.
- VI. Karttikeya in the niche.

NOTE: All photographs by the author.

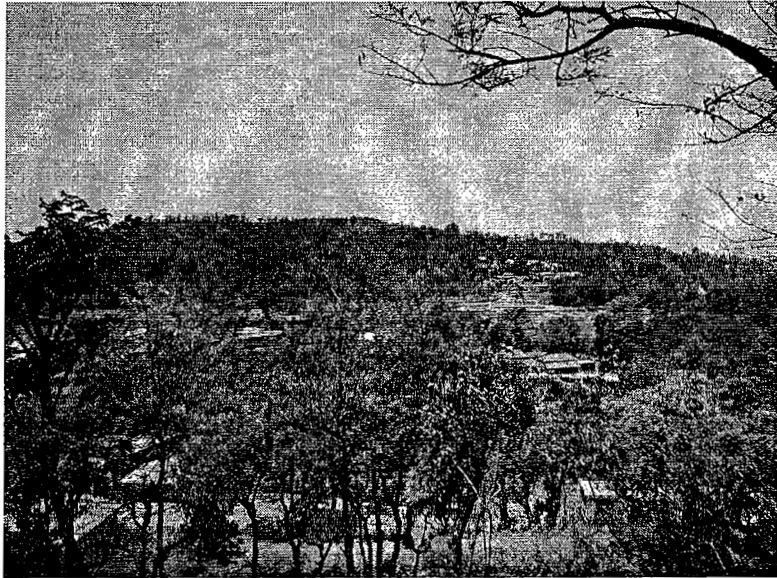


Plate-I

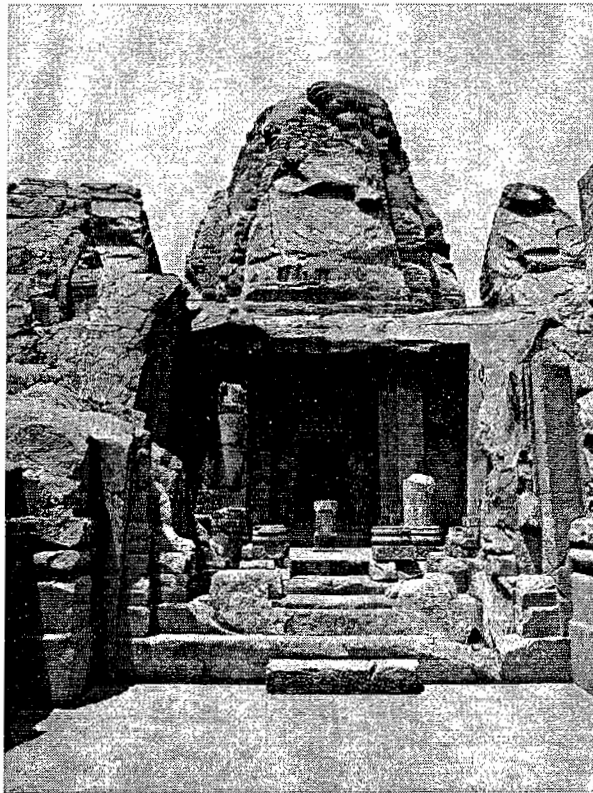


Plate-II

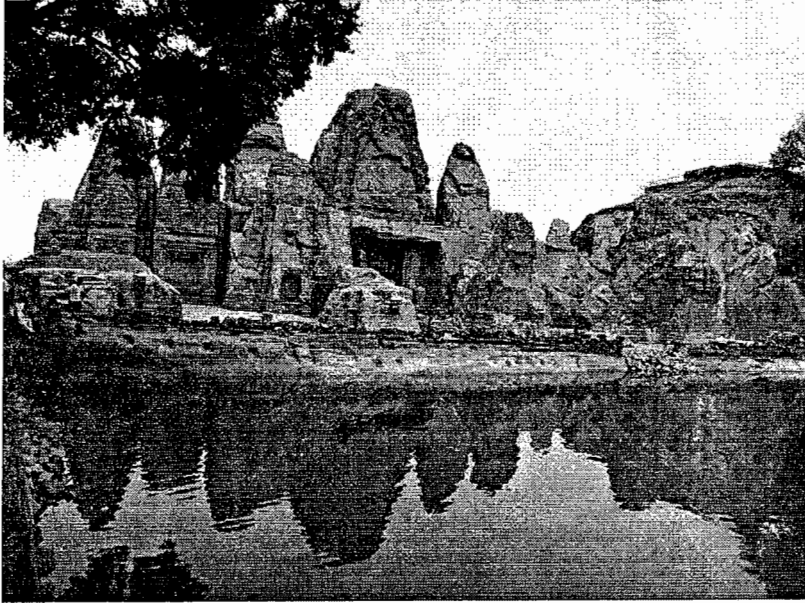


Plate-III

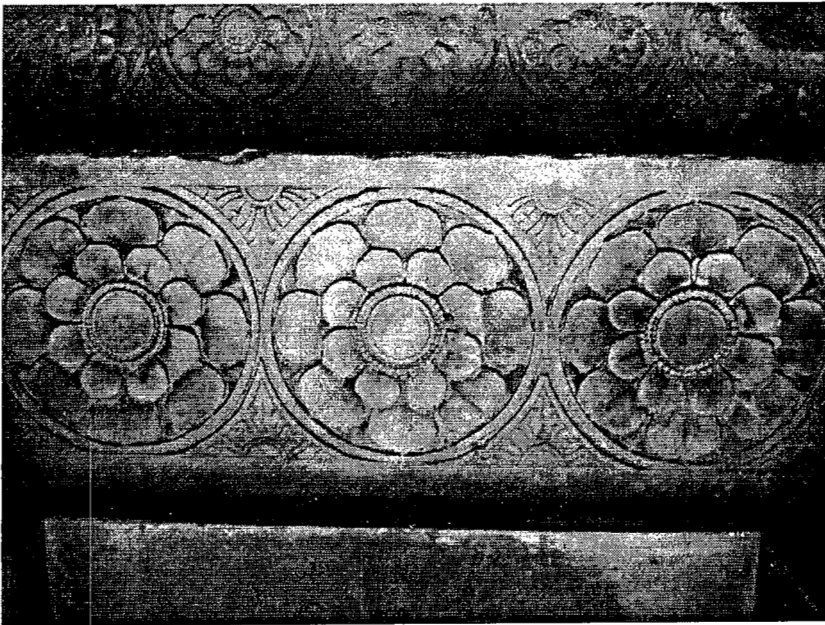


Plate-IV



Plate-V



Plate-VI

ORAL RELIGIOUS NARRATIVES ON THE VERNACULAR DEITIES OF JAMMU: FORMS AND STRUCTURE

*Sushma Jamwal**

Scholarly understanding of Hinduism is largely informed by a systematic uniform, coherent system of beliefs and religious practices which has been textualised over time. Parallel to this also exist the vernacular forms of the religion that are expressed, practiced, and narrated by ordinary people through oral tradition. The aim of the present paper is to explore the religious narratives of the vernacular deities of the Jammu region and the social and geographical context within which they are located. The central focus however, would be on the way they are structured and communicated and also the manner they relate to the canonized religion embedded in the great tradition.

A wide range of oral traditions exist in Jammu region and they all play an important role in transmitting the history and culture from one generation to the other. They however, have multiple contents and therefore relates to varied aspects of human life¹. We would, however, in this section take up those which have bearing on the subject under study.

Out of a number of compositions carried through oral traditions, two of them are particularly important for our study. They are popularly known as *Karakan* and *Baran*.

Karakan

Of these two categories of oral traditions, the one known as *Karakan* is an important source of information on local deities in general and female deities in particular. According to the local tradition, the *Karakan* of a particular deity was formed by an ancestor of the present generation *Jogi* who is officiating at the shrine of that particular deity and that the said ancestor did this at the order of the deity through a dream or miracle². The local historians, however, has described *Karakan* differently. While some would like to describe it as religious songs of deified martyrs which serves the purpose of propitiation³, some treat it as a part

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1. Sukhdev Singh Charak, *History and Culture of Himalayan States*, Vol. IX, Jammu Kingdom, part six, 2002, pp. 174-75.
2. We are told that the *karaka* of Data Rampat was created by Abdu Jogi who was asked by the deity in his dream to make one. See Shiv Nirmohi, *Data Rampat Ki Amar Katha*, Jammu, 1999.
3. See, Om Goswami, *Sada Sahitya*, 1983, pp. 2-3.

of folk lore associated with such *sthans* which were established and worshipped by people of related families or lineage⁴. It has also been suggested that it is a kind of local oral tradition which provides glimpses of our belief and faith in our god and goddesses as well as society and martyrs⁵.

Notwithstanding the difference of opinions, if one takes a stock of the contents of Karakan available to us, what comes out very clearly is the presence of elements of thematic heterogeneity in it. It covers legends and stories of gods and goddesses, local deities, saints and martyrs, men and women who stood against social and economic injustice and earned reverences by sacrificing themselves for a noble cause. On the basis of the elements of variations obtainable within the broad structure of this form of oral tradition, we may classify it into four categories :-

- 1) The first category of Karakan is those which are related to omnipresent goddesses. We have in the region of Jammu, Karakan of goddesses such as *Mata Vaishno Devi, Sheetla Devi, Sukrala Mata* etc.
- 2) The second category of Karakan is those which are related to local *devis* and *devtas* and it also includes miracles which they might have performed in their life time. For example, Karakan of Raja Mandalik, Bawa Kalibeer, Baba Nahar Singh etc.
- 3) Karaka related to miracle of disciples of Guru Gorakh Nath, a prominent figure of Nath Panthi sect, belongs to the third category. These include *Karakan* of Bawa Sidha Gorla, Bawa Kailu etc.
- 4) In the fourth category we have *Karakan* related to persons who sacrificed their lives. This categories can further be subdivided into two sub-categories:-
 - a) *Karakan* related to persons killed by rulers or their officials. These include *Karakan* of Data Ranpat⁶, Data Biram etc.
 - b) *Karakan* related to persons who killed themselves when justice was not given to them. These include *Karakan* of Bawa Jitto⁷, Bua Mandir, Bawa Mahimal⁸ who did commit suicide against the demand of increasing burden of tax by local Jagirdar. For example we have Bawa Kora who killed himself as a protest against the enhanced taxes demanded by the ruler for building his palace. Similar is the case with *Bua Mukha* etc.

As far as the form and structure of the *Karakan* is concerned, it is usually couched in a simple language and presented to audience in an equally simple

4. Surendra Gandalgayal, *Sada Sahitya*, 1979, p.2.

5. See Nilambar Dev Sharma and Kehri Singh Madhukar, *Dogri Lok Geet, Karkan Baran*, Vol.-II, J&K Acedemy of Art Culture and Language, Jammu, 1965-66, p.5.

6. Sukhdev Singh Charak, *op.cit.*, p.176.

7. Ram Nath Shastri, *Bawa Jitto, Dogri Sanstha*, Jammu, 1991.

8. Shiv Nirmohi, *Duggar ke lok Devata*, p.139.

manner. They start without preliminaries and close without any epilogues, often abruptly. They usually also carry a couple of lines of *mahatmaya* of the *karakan*⁹. The central structure of all the *karakan* seems to follow a set pattern. As far as the *karakas* of the deities is concerned, it consists of four or five components namely;

- I. **Family background, birth:** All the *karakan* usually start with this component in which the character of a given *Karakan* are shown taking birth on auspicious days and the women of the family are seen singing auspicious songs. This is followed by the description of performance of certain ceremonies such as the *Punjab*¹⁰ and *Sutra*¹¹.
- II. **Early life including marriage:** In this section the central character of the *Karkan* are shown playing with their peer groups and in the process also reflecting their extra-ordinary intelligence. This point of extra-ordinary intelligence is further strengthened by attributing it to divine grace to the character. In this section is also narrated the occasion of the character being married. What is noteworthy is that marriage is usually stated to be solemnized at a very young age, ranging from eight to twelve. An integral part of narrative in this section is the description of the performance of different ceremonies, the reference to the priest who announces auspicious time for marriage followed by *Tikka* and the entire process culminating into marriage and subsequent grand feast to the entire village.
- III. **Cause/ causes leading to death:** This section of the narrative seems to be an important part and it primarily deals with the incidence leading to the death of the character. The reason for the death is narrated.
- IV. **Act of revenge and process of deification and finally:** this section deals with the character's life after death. Usually we are told that once the character dies, he meets the Lord of death and explains to him the reasons for death. Then the character is given supra human power and then he/she comes back to the place he/she died for the purpose of taking revenge. The character is thereafter shown to kill the enemy including his family members by causing different disease or some disaster to them.
- V. **The expected benefit of listening to the *karakan*:** This section of the narrative focuses on the acceptance of the character as deity which is given a place to live called *Dehra* (shrine). This seems enough for the character and once *Dehra* is made, the deity starts showering boons upon the devotee. The narrative ends with the note that if worshiped sincerely and with faith, the deity would bring prosperity, children, good health etc., to the devotee.

9. Sukhdev Singh Charak, 2002, *op.cit.*, p.177.

10. This is a ceremony performed after five days of the birth of the child.

11. This is a ceremony performed after twenty one days of the birth of the child.

A closer scrutiny of the *karakān* available to us gives the impression makers of all the *karakān* have copied the traditional framework of some early *karakān* in which other *karakān* singers have just filled in the details¹². It has been suggested that only *karakān* of Bawa Jitto¹³, Bawa Mahi Mall¹⁴, Data Ranapat¹⁵ are the original *karakān* and they seemed to have set the standard in terms of the structure and the form of the subsequent *karakān*¹⁶.

Despite this uniformity in the structure and form of the *karakān*, there is enough evidence to suggest that the content is not immutable. In fact there is always a space left to accommodate and assimilate new story. Thus *karakān* is traditional, yet it lives through variations. While the perpetuation of historical structure lends a touch of authority and familiarity, variation allows it move along with the changing moods and emotional demands of society¹⁷. Thus the *karakān* also serves as an effective agent to cultural innovation in society.

All the *karakān* that we have are not necessarily the product of local bards, in fact a couple of them clearly indicates that they have been inspired by a similar tradition in the neighbouring area¹⁸. This also indicates the migratory character of such tradition and the inspiration they derived from society located outside the boundaries of our area of study.

Baran

The second genre of oral tradition is called *Baran*. Thematically they are entirely different from *karakān*¹⁹. It consists mainly of the heroic exploits of folk heroes, soldier, general and chief²⁰. During the period of battle and warfare, *Gararis*, the singers of *Baran*, accompanied armies and aroused soldiers for battle. They were also sung at the courts of the *Raja* and in war camps to ignite spirit of valour and sacrifice in the soldiers on the eve of a battle²¹.

Apart from the difference in the forms, content, and purpose, the occasions for invoking these two categories of oral traditions are also different and so is the character of audience both catered to. While *karakān* was part of popular culture in the sense that it is generally performed by folk singers who often specializes in particular *karakān*²². They generally reside at the shrines of the deities or at the

12. Om Goswami, *op.cit.*, 347-48.

13. Ram Nath Shastri, *loc.cit.*

14. Shiv Nirmohi, *loc.cit.*

15. Sukhdev Singh Charak, *loc.cit.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. For a theoretical exposition of this dual aspect of folklore See Peter Burke, *Popular Culture In Early Modern Europe*, London, 1978, p.127.

18. The bardic tradition about Datti Bargot in Jammu (Chenani) bears striking resemblance to a similar bardic tradition pertaining to Raj Bahu Raul of Himachal Pradesh. See Sukhdev Singh Charak. *Op.cit.*, pp.176-77. Also see Shiv Nirmohi., *Duggar Ki Lok Gathayen*, Jammu, 1982, pp.101-103.

19. See Ashok Jeratha, 'Dogri Lokgatha'Baran' in *Hamara Sahitya*, 1981, pp. 25-33.

20. *Ibid.*, pp.145-46.

21. See Ashok Jerath, *Duggar ka Sanskritic Itihasa*, Jammu, pp.99-100.

22. Ashok Jerath, *Duggar ka Sanskritic Itihasa*, Jammu, p.98.

dehris of the martyrs²³.

One of the important occasions when *karakān* are invoked is the day of the *jatra* which is an important ritual performed by the devotees of the deity. The term *jatra* has also been used to indicate a process by which the process of spirit possession of the devotees takes place²⁴.

The literal meaning of *Jatra* is moving from one place to another to reach the place of a deity to perform ritual. In Jammu there are several female deities with which this act of *Jatra* is associated.

The *Jatra* starts from different places. Hundreds of devotees accompany the *Jatra*. During the period the oral narration of the story of the deities is made in front of a group of devotees. These *Jatras* are considered to be a necessary ritual performance for the development of the village, its prosperity, increase in agricultural production, to be free from harmful diseases, to get rid of natural calamities etc.

In the morning Morning *Jatra* is performed with the rising of the sun and evening *Jatra* is performed after the sunset.

For performing the *Jatra*, the day, date and place is fixed so that all the devotees can accompany it. During the fixed date and day the *Jatra* of the devotees start under the leadership of the *Dowala* who is considered as the link between the deity and the devotees. On the eve of *Jatra* the devotees keep fast and sing songs of their deity. The devotees during the *Jatra* cry aloud with words like 'Jai Mata, Jai Devi' etc.

After reaching the place of the deity, people offer their prayers when the *jogis* sing *Karakān* of the deity with the accompaniment of Drum (*Gardi*) and the *Dowalas* request the deity to come in their body. As the drum voice become loud there is shivering in the body of the *Dowala* which is understood as entry of divine power in the body. People present at that place ask questions related to them. *Dowala* while dancing utter aloud the word like 'Jai Mata Kalka Devi, Raja Mandalik, Baba Mai Mal' etc.

Devotees with full enthusiasm participate in the *Jatra*. For them *Jatra* may be of morning or evening, but their main devotion lies in offering their prayer to the deity.

Apart from these two varieties of oral traditions, we have other varieties of

23. Sukhdev Singh Charak, 2002, *op.cit.*, p.175.

24. It may be pointed out that the term *Jatra* and *yatra* are not the same, rather both are differentiated depending on the social background of the speaker and/or the context. *Jatra* is in many ways synonymous with the original meaning of the word *utsava*, that is the periodical renewal of the cosmos. See Günther-Dietz Sontheimer: 'The folk festival (jatr_) in the religious traditions of Maharashtra: the case of Khandoba' in Günther-Dietz Sontheimer (ed.), *Maharashtra: Culture and society: Folk culture, folk religion and oral traditions as a component in Maharashtrian culture*, 1995, pp. 129-145.

oral traditions which give a glimpse of the local deities²⁵. These genres of local tradition are different from the *Karakan* and *Baran* in the sense that they are not sung by any specialized groups and usually they do not have a structured format. One of such tradition may be described as the ritual songs usually performed by the ladies of the family on various occasions and they often represent a pleasant confluence of religious rites and entertainment programme. Given the eclectic themes and occasions, the number of such songs is quite considerable²⁶. They have been created, possibly by the ladies of the house, to suit all types of social customs and rituals occurring in the family from a birth of a child to the death of a man²⁷. In addition to this there are several socio religious occasions extending beyond individual family, inviting songs such as *Jagarata*, *Navaratreya*, *Rangoli*, *Rare* and the like²⁸.

The songs aiming at exorcising of ghost, and spirits are yet another class of oral tradition. These are not part of our study yet in many of the offerings or prayers or the process of propitiation, the local deities are invoked. Thus in the oral tradition relating to them we often find the *bhuts*, the gods, and the people of locality linked up together²⁹.

These are known as *masan* or *lehran* and were technically performed by *Jogis* and *Gararis* with the accompaniment of *dhol* and *ghara-thali* music. These songs contain flattering prayers for the spirit so as to induce it to remove its influence from the patient's body. Sometime harsh verses are also sung in order to threaten and frighten the ghost out of the sufferer's body. Such a sitting is called *chauki* in which an atmosphere of fear and mystery prevails³⁰.

The discussion helps to bring out the fact that even though the oral religious narratives on local deities bear the characteristics of amorphously organized, a closer look at them indicate that they do follow a certain structure in the terms of their organization. Even the carrier of oral tradition or the medium through which it is communicated follows certain norms and order. Our study also reveals that the spatiality of all religious narratives is not similar; there are some which have much larger audience, which more often than not, also make mention of the dominant power structure. There are some which are limited in nature and are popular within the village or within surrounding villages only.

25. For a good classification of the varieties of songs of Jammu region, see Bandhu Sharma, *Dogra-Pahari Lok Sangeet*, Jammu, 1970, p.100.

26. See Sundrinderpal Gandargal, *Duggar ka Lok Sangeet*, Jammu, 1985.

27. See Ashok Jeratha, 1997, *loc.cit.*, pp.105-112.

28. See Sukhdev Singh Charak, *loc.cit.* p.140.

29. An excellent exposition on this aspect see N.K.Wagle, 'On Relations amongst *bhut*, gods, and men, aspects of Folk Religion and Law in Pre-British Maharashtra', in Gunther Dietz Sontheimer (ed), *Folk Culture, Folk Religion and Oral Traditions as a component in Maharashtrian Culture*, 2000, pp.181-220.

30. *Ibid.*, p.147.

What is important, however, about the oral religious narratives is the range of information that they throw on the local deities. The composition of the *karakān* can be cited as an example. The structural components of the *Karakān* reveals that the process of deification starts with the mythification of the dead after the death by adding story of revenge, then their appearance in dream and demand for propitiation, leading to making of *Dehri*. In some cases it goes little further by associating the story of performance of miracles. Once the deification is done through mythification then the singers of the *karakān* are invited to communicate this to the community concerned, and this gets repeated continually so that it stays alive in the popular memory of the locality.

GURU NANAK IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY

*Daljit Singh**

History has its own value; but Guru Nanak cannot be judged in its light, rather, it is history that should be judged in His light. His advent in the 15th century upon this discordant land of people was a magnanimous event in the history of mankind. "The spirit of critically understanding the doctrines of Sikhism began in the very life of Guru Nanak. The Guru who in his extensive travels argued with professors of all religions could not expect people to follow him without conviction."¹ He never contradicted or degraded any other religion, but appreciated whatever was valuable in other religious traditions. He was a person of extraordinary moral courage and independence; and above all was very great mystic and poet. Guru Nanak's sweet and sublime poetical compositions, which contain his illustrious teachings, attracted large masses to him and captivated their hearts. A perspective view of Indian history of His times reveals that people belonging to two dominant sections of society- Hindus and Muslims- were poles apart at that time. They harbored ill will and hatred towards each other. According to Bhai Gurdas

“ਚਾਰਿ ਵਰਨਿ ਚਾਰਿ ਮਜਹਬਾਂ ਜਗਿ ਵਿਚਿ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣੇ।
ਖੁਦੀ ਬਖਲਿ ਤਕਬਰੀ ਖਿਚੋਤਾਣਿ ਕਰੇਨਿ ਪਿਛਾਣੇ।
ਗੰਗ ਬਨਾਰਸਿ ਹਿੰਦੂਆਂ ਮਕਾ ਕਾਬਾ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣੇ।
ਸੁੰਨਤਿ ਮੁਸਲਮਾਣ ਦੀ ਤਿਲਕ ਜੰਝੂ ਹਿੰਦੂ ਲੋਭਾਣੇ।
ਰਾਮ ਰਹੀਮ ਕਹਾਇਦੇ ਇਕੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਦੁਇ ਰਾਹ ਭੁਲਾਣੇ।
ਬੇਦ ਕਤੇਬ ਭੁਲਾਇ ਕੈ ਮੋਹੇ ਲਾਲਚ ਦੁਨੀ ਸੈਤਾਣੇ।
ਸਚੁ ਕਿਨਾਰੇ ਰਹਿ ਗਿਆ ਖਹਿ ਮਰਦੇ ਬਾਮੁਣਿ ਮਉਲਾਣੇ।
ਸਿਰੋ ਨ ਮਿਟੇ ਆਵਣਿ ਜਾਣੇ।”²

Though, both the communities ostensibly lived side by side but their social and political differences drifted them away from the universal concept of brotherhood. They continued to move around their own orbits. The racial and religious segregation between them was so sharp that the Hindus despised the Muslims as the *Malecchas* (unclean) whereas the Muslims looked upon them as the *Kafirs* (non-believers). The religious leaders - the Ulamas and the Brahmins - of both the communities cultivated a spirit of ill will, distrust and envy to each other, which in turn ignited the communal rivalries and sectarian animosities in social order. Obviously, the perennial spirit of Oneness - ਏਕੁ ਪਿਤਾ ਏਕੁਸ ਕੇ ਹਮ

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1. Sher Singh, *Philosophy of Sikhism*, Amritsar, 1980, pp. 1-2.
2. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan*, Amritsar 1962, Var 1, Pauri 21.

वर्णिक- the ennobling inspiration of religion had become to be oblivious with the veils of man-made boundaries of caste, creed, race and meaningless rituals and observations. In a society honeycombed with racial arrogance, social exclusiveness and superstitions of diverse kinds, religion could hardly be anything but a formal, shapeless system of arid beliefs and lifeless rituals. This was the general characteristic of the age, a common vice infecting both Hinduism and Islam. The 'age of darkness' was dark for both the communities.³

Guru Nanak Dev responded to the above challenge in a very unique and practical manner. In response to the Divine call he began his spiritual mission on a very revolutionary scale. It underlines the Sikh viewpoint on the issues of coexistence and interfaith relations. He was a bridge between Hindus and Muslims. He remarked, there is "No Hindu and No Musalman",⁴ there is only Oneness. He was not Socialist Utopia but a crusader against prevalent social evils and divisive forces in the country. He successfully spearheaded a vigorous spiritual and social reform movement. He was not a recluse who minded his own salvation only. He wanted common men to lead a real spiritual life and combine themselves in a social pattern which will give rise to toleration for the views of others and a general desire to work for the welfare of the whole humankind.

He went on to promote and propagate harmonious social relations and religious coexistence in the prevalent strife torn of his times. During his itineracies he reached out to people and took his message to distant parts of Indian sub-continent and West-Asia. He visited important religious centres of all communities and entered into a dialogue with a wide variety of religious leaders in order to wean them away from the false and divisive nature of religion. He enlightened them about the perennial spring of spirituality that is at the core of every religion. Similarly he took concrete steps to promote mutual trust and harmony among the people through the institutions of *Sangat* (congregation) and *Pangat* (community kitchen). The impact of his teachings on the Indian society has been incredible. These teachings have greatly influenced the people of India in general and those of Punjab in particular. He did not confine his mission to this country alone. He travelled far and wide, in order to enlighten humanity as a whole and administered to it his message of love, peace, devotion to God, social justice, religious toleration and universal brotherhood. For him no country was foreign and no people alien.

Guru Nanak was probably the first to give India the concept of a nation. In his hymns he utters the word of 'Hindustan' during those turbulent times and invokes the blessings of God for the people with a tortured mind.

3. M.A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, Vol. I, p. 238.

4. Miharban Sodhi, *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Amritsar, 1962, p. 93.

“ਖੁਰਾਸਾਨ ਖਸਮਾਨਾ ਕੀਆ ਹਿੰਦੁਸਤਾਨ ਡਰਾਇਆ।
ਆਪੇ ਦੋਸ਼ ਨ ਦੇਈ ਕਰਤਾ ਜਮੁ ਕਰਿ ਮੁਗਲ ਚੜਾਇਆ।
ਏਤੀ ਮਾਰ ਪਈ ਕੁਰਲਾਣੇ ਤੈ ਕੀ ਦਰਦੁ ਨ ਆਇਆ।”⁵

The centuries of invasion, foreign misrule and persecution had produced the greatest depression and the spiritual subjection and stagnation had aggravated the demoralisation to an enormous degree. This was the condition in which Guru Nanak found the Hindus.⁶

He underlined the unity of all religions and by abolishing the distinctions between them, he gave a new concept of Nationhood. According to Gobind Singh Mansukhani, ‘Never before, in her history, was India regarded as a nation. It was a conglomeration of various communities, differing from one another in their social, ethical and cultural life. Guru Nanak used the word Hindustan (India a nation) 500 years ago. We came across this word four times in his hymns. India is a nationality bound together by common ideals and aspirations.’⁷

“Household life involves man in union with woman, who are two equally important wheels of the household cart. *Siddhas* and *Naths*, though they could not completely detach themselves from women, openly preached to abhor the woman as she was considered to be the source of many evils.”⁸ The effects of such thinking are visible even today in Indian society where the woman, even in the 21st century, has not attained the desired equality of status with man.

Guru Nanak’s teachings, which reinforced the concept of Nationhood, advocated equality for women with men in society. He gave a clarion call to bestow upon them an equal status with men in the domain of religion and society. The sons and daughters are all the creation of God⁹, with the same light of God in them, says Guru Nanak. He enabled women folk to win recognition as independent social entity and laid the foundation for their educational and social development. He deprecated the idea that she was an inferior being, a status to which she had been reduced in the social order, owing to such custom as *pardah* which had been forced upon the population, by the repeated invasions of India on its Northern frontiers. That is not to say that after more than a century of freedom from such invasions, emancipation of women has become a complete reality in our country—Guru Nanak held that no society could progress if one half of it was condemned

5. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, Babarvani, Mahala I, Sri Damdami Bir, various printed editions, standard pagination 1430, p. 360; M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, New Delhi, 1963, Vol.1, p. 119.

6. G. C. Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, Delhi, 1960, p. 5.

7. Gobind Singh Mansukhani, *Guru Nanak World Teacher*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 5.

8. Jodh Singh, *The Religious Philosophy of Guru Nanak*, Delhi, 1989, p. 257.

9. Kapur Singh, *Parasharprana, or the Baisakhi of Guru Gobind Singh*, Jullundur, 1959, p. 428. The author goes on to add that this doctrine repudiates the bases of the institutes of the Hindu caste system and lays down secure foundations on which the traditions of a liberal democracy may be reared and the super structure of an equalitarian society may be raised, in which social justice is secured by laws, the justness of which is guaranteed by the refined and awakened conscience of the community.

to a lower status. He wrote,

“ਭੰਡਿ ਜੰਮੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਨਿੰਮੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਮੰਗਣੁ ਵੀਆਹੁ
ਭੰਡਹੁ ਹੋਵੈ ਦੋਸਤੀ ਭੰਡਹੁ ਚਲੈ ਰਾਹੁ
ਭੰਡੁ ਮੁਆ ਭੰਡੁ ਭਾਲੀਐ ਭੰਡਿ ਹੋਵੈ ਬੰਧਾਨੁ
ਸੋ ਕਿਉ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੰਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾਨ ॥”¹⁰

Rousseau gave the call of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity at the end of the 18th century which culminated in the French Revolution in the year 1789. Economic and social injustice was the cause of the struggle. Later on the thinkers in other countries also came forward to raise their voice against the injustice being perpetrated on the people in those countries. In India too, a state of social discrimination similar to Europe had been prevailing for a long time. Indian religious thinkers divided men in four *varans*. Guru Nanak does not divide men on the basis of their creeds, colour, race or country. For him men are of two kinds *Gurmukhs* (God-oriented) and *Manmukh* (self-oriented). The former have turned their faces towards God and work for the welfare of the whole mankind. The latter follow the whims of their own minds and practise deceit, tyranny, falsehood and selfishness to gain their worldly ends.

Guru Nanak Dev never saw a man as higher or lower. He wanted the development of everybody in every possible way. Individual man being the fundamental unit of society, Guru Nanak conceived of an ideal individual. He wanted to procure among the emotions, desires and thoughts of man. He never conceived of a society, in which on the one side there were only elite and on the other, the superstitious, the mentally backward and the down-trodden people.

The appearance of Guru Nanak on the scene was the high watermark of this Reformation Movement, and it was proclaimed to the World by one of his disciples Bhai Gurdas in the following words:-

ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਨਾਨਕ ਪ੍ਰਗਟਿਆ ਮਿਟੀ ਯੁੱਧ ਜਗਿ ਚਾਨਣੁ ਹੋਆ
ਜਿਉ ਕਰਿ ਸੂਰਜੁ ਨਿਕਲਿਆ ਤਾਰੇ ਛਪਿ ਅੰਧੇਰੁ ਪਲੋਆ ॥¹¹

As the principal protagonist of the Bhakti Movement, he transformed the devotional mysticism of the giants into a mass movement of social and religious freedom and equality, promoting dignity of action without distinction of caste and status. It is believed that he preached ‘liberal social doctrines.’¹² He was an apostle of ‘universal brotherhood’ and condemned ‘caste and class’.¹³ He reached them through their native tongue, eschewing the learned language of the Brahmans. The untouchables were the *Sudras* of impure birth, performing social duties which subjected them to constant defilement. They were condemned to permanent social degradation, denied elementary civic rights and rigidly excluded from places of

10. *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, Raga Asa Mahala 1, p. 473.

11. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan*, Var 1, Pauri 27.

12. Teja Singh, *The Religion of the Sikh Gurus*, Amritsar, 1971, p. 1.

13. Sardul Singh Caveeshar, *The Sikh Studies*, London, 1937, p. 9.

worship,¹⁴ and public sites. The *Sudras* formed a big section of the Indian proletariat. Many mixed castes were included among the *Sudras*. Majority of agricultural labourers, craftsmen like *kumharas* (potters), *kahars* (palanquin bearers) *malees* (gardeners) betel sellers, *telis* (oil-pressers) *tarkhans* (carpenters), *lohars* (blacksmiths) etc. formed the *Sudra* community.¹⁵ The condition of the untouchables was the worst. They lived not only under the shadow of contempt but also below the subsistence level of human existence¹⁶. Today, we still have the problem of Harijans (lower caste) with us, though Gandhi ji toiled hard to uplift them. Guru Nanak's teaching is, therefore as valid in the present context as it was during his times. K. L. Seshagiri Rao remarks, "His (Guru Nanak's) approach to inter-religious relations is still valid and very much needed today. Mahatama Gandhi in our own times has admirably followed in the footsteps of Guru Nanak in this regard"¹⁷ Thus the caste system which was woven in the fabric of religious belief, formed the bedrock of the Hindu society. It brought degradation in its train and became a burden and a curse for the society. Guru Nanak, a keen observer of contemporaneous predicaments, did not fail to comment on the caste system and the degeneration, it had brought into the fold of Hindu society. The traditional four varnas - Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras - had undergone tremendous changes since the Turkish invasions on North India. Multi-religious and multi-lingual India has different kinds of organizations, institutions and individuals that have commitment to ameliorate the quality of life. Justice is a moral concept that is based on humanitarian values. Social justice implies improving the lot of the downtrodden and weaker sections of the community and removing untouchability.¹⁸ The concept of social justice emphasizes on the right of the weaker to the protection of the State against the ruthless competition of life. It means treating human being as a human being that includes equality of treatment, equal opportunities for betterment and equality of status to all¹⁹. In Indian scenario, the term social justice means eradication of caste system and special provisions for the upliftment of the lower castes and the weaker sections of the society.

Caste has been the distinctive feature of Indian society since times immemorial. According to Trilochan Singh, "In his boyhood Guru Nanak revolted against the caste-system and all the ceremonies and laws of the Hindu code that differentiated man from man on the basis of birth, class or lineage. He demolished

14. In one of the hymns Namdev clearly states that when he went to pray in a temple, he was turned out for he belonged to a low caste of Calico printers. See *Sri Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 1164.

15. B. N. Lunia, *Life and Culture in Medieval India*, Indore, 1978, p. 140.

16. J. S. Grewal, *Guru Nanak in History*, Chandigarh, 1969, p. 55.

17. K. L. Seshagiri Rao, "Guru Nanak and the Hindu Heritage" in Gurmukh Nihal Singh (ed), *Guru Nanak : His Life, Time and Teachings*, Guru Nanak Foundation, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 123-24.

18. R. R. Prasad Singh and B. K. Jha, "The concept of social justice: A Theoretical Analysis", in C. P. Barthwal (ed.), *Social Justice in India*, Lucknow, 1998, p. 46.

19. T. P. Tope, "Social Justice in India", in N. R. Madhava Menon (ed.), *Social Justice and Social process in India*, Allahabad, 1988, p. 217.

the barriers not only between high and low cast people but removed the cultural and religious barriers between Hindus and Muslims. He rejected the fourfold order of the Hindu society and considered it highly dangerous for the progress of Indian society and culture.²⁰ Undoubtedly Guru Nanak has given to the people of the world an idea of society which aims at economic and social future. Guru Nanak is one of those great men of history whose memory is enshrined in the hearts of men and whose fame transcends the bonds of time and space. His universal message, combines with a dynamic approach towards religion, deep humanism and concern for the out caste and the downtrodden. Guru Nanak understood the multiracial, multi-religious and multilingual pattern of Indian society. He sought to evolve a social attitude which should not merely tolerate different forms of life and thoughts but would look upon them as part of a common heritage. Guru Nanak stood for a global society based on the welfare of the individual. He did not subscribe to a theocratic organisation or a church-state. His goal was bringing all men together on the basis of the religion of man. The war of religions is a contradiction in terms. It is anti-religious, because religion is meant to unite the people and not divide them. Guru Nanak says, "The seed of the Guru cannot germinate except in the field of ethical conduct, constantly irrigated by the waters of truth." Morality is a bridge between man and God. Mere pious intentions without practical ethics lead nowhere. Guru Nanak tells us about the nature of a religious man in these words, "A man's religion is characterized by ethical deeds, honest living, sincerity of heart and a fearless passion for truth." Character- building is thus an essential part of the Sikh way.

The Sikh Gurus have never sought forced conversion. They exhorted the people again and again to be true to their respective real creeds. They did not approve religions intolerance and discrimination against the people on religious grounds. Guru Nanak raised his voice against the restrictions imposed upon the religious freedom of the people belonging to the faith other than that of the ruling class; the Sikh Gurus championed the cause of religious co-existence and communal harmony. According to S. Radhakrishan, "In the true tradition of India Nanak Dev believes in religion as realization, *anubhava*. Those who adopt this view subordinate ritualistic practices and creedal definitions. Nanak does not believe in the ultimacy of the distinctions between the Hindu and the Mussalman. He goes beyond this distinctions and fosters a religion of spirit which is universal in character."²¹ The main reason for the martyrdoms of Guru Arjan in 1606 and Guru Tegh Bahadur in 1675 was that they came in the way of the Mughal state, which wanted to destroy the multi-religious character of Indian society through its repressive policy. Sikhism thus preaches equality, tolerance and co-existence. These entire ideals hold key to further the case of inter-faith understanding.

20. Trilochan Singh (ed), *Selections from Sacred Writings of the Sikhs*, p.27.

21. S. Radhakrishan, "Guru Nanak Dev : An Introduction", in Gurmukh Nihal Singh (ed), *Guru Nanak : His Life, Time and Teachings*, p.1.

The need of the day is that we must collaborate by learning to live together as partners in a world of religious and cultural plurality.²² Guru Nanak is most articulate in his social criticism when customs and institutions appear to touch upon religion. Consequently his criticism is absolutely directed most clearly against the religious leaders and their ceremonies and customs.²³ His teachings embrace great principles, but his way of life is shifted to the needs of modern society. He was born at a time when rituals, caste distinctions and superstitions had reduced the people to a low level of existence and enlightened them to 'Awake! Arise and stop not till Oneness of humanity - ਏਕ ਪਿਤਾ ਏਕਸ ਕਿ ਹਮੁ ਬਾਰਿਕ - does not prevail.

22. W. C. Smith, "The Christian in a Religiously Plural World", in John Hick and Brian Hebblethwaite, (eds.), *Christianity and other Religions*, p. 50.

23. W.H. McLeod, *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968, pp. 162-63.

PONTIFICATION OF GURU ANGAD OBSERVED AND PERCEIVED IN GURPARTAP SURAJ GRANTH

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Guru Angad born on 31st March, 1504 at Mate-di-Sarai (Sarai Naga) District Ferozepur succeeded the spiritual seat of Guru Nanak at Kartarpur on 14th June, 1539 and after serving the Sikh religion for about 13 years expired on 29th March, 1552 at Khadur Sahib, District Amritsar.¹

Guru Angad Dev's original name was Lehna. Having been born in the family of Pheru Mall Khatri, a trader and Mata Daya Kaur, he was married to Khiviji of village Khadur in the vicinity of Tarn Taran in the present District of Amritsar at the age of about fifteen (Gurpartap Suraj-14 Years) and had two sons Desuji and Dattuji and two daughters Bibi Amro and Anokhiji.²

Historians and Writers frequently make mention of the tell-tales relating to Bhai Lehna's first meeting with Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikh religion. Bhai Santokh Singh, the author of *Gurpartap Suraj Granth* holds that captivated by Guru Nanak's teachings, Lehnaji, when grew up, left his place and proceeded to the reverential presence of Guru Nanak at Kartarpur.³ There, he served Guru Nanak whole heartedly. He was deeply impressed by the religious tenets and philosophy of Guru Nanak and became his devoted disciple. Strictly in accordance with the remarks of Guru Nanak, "In case you are fond of playing the game of love, come to my presence with your head lying on your palm (becoming an apostle of sacrifice)" Bhai Lehna was committed to dedicate himself as a disciple of Guru Nanak. He showed high degree of patience and successfully passed or qualified a series of auditions and trails. Bhai Santokh Singh argues that Bhai Lehna was the mine of unmatched qualities of head and heart; resultantly, Guru Nanak was so much moved by his personal merits that he bestowed upon him his spiritual seat.

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1. *Makhis-i-Twarikh-e-Sikhan* (ed. Ganda Singh), Amritsar, 1949, Vol. I, p. 3.
2. Bhai Santokh Singh, *Guru Nanak Prakash*, Vol. II, ch. 47 (*Utrarahd*); cf. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *Mahan Kosh*, Bhasha Vibhag, Punjab, Patiala, 1974, p.111.
3. A strong tradition holds that Lehna who was a worshipper of goddess Durga used to visit Jawalamukhi temple situated in the lower Himalayas for pilgrimage. Once he came to listen to a melodious hymn of Guru Nanak from a Sikh called Bhai Jodha. Lehna was so much captivated by the hymn that at one occasion when he was visiting Jawalamukhi with the fellow pilgrims, he stayed at Kartarpur and met Guru Nanak, which meeting resulted in his submission before the Guru for ever and for ever. Teja Singh Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol. I, Patiala, 1989, p.16; cf. Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha, *op.cit.*, p.111 states that Lehna (Guru Angad) met Guru Nanak on his pilgrimage to the *Devi* in c. 1532 A.D. Samvat 1589.

Tradition confirms that Guru Nanak declared him as his own limb or a part and parcel. *Gurpartap Suraj* holds : “*Angad nam aaj te hoa nij angan te keeno tohi*”.

Bhai Gurdas clarifies the point. He not only makes mention of guruship granted by Guru Nanak to Bhai Lehna but also refers to the shifting of centre of spirituality under him from Kartarpur to Khadur Sahib. Bhai Gurdas observes:

marea sikka jagat vich
Nanak nirmal panth chala
thapea Lehna jeevde guriai
sir chhatar phiraea.
Joti jot milaeke Satgur Nanak
roop vataea. Lakh na koi sakai
acharje acharj dikhaea. Kaea
palt saroop banaea.

...

So tikka so chhatar sar
soi sacha takhat tikai.
Guru Nanak handi mohar hath
Guru Angad di dohe phirai.
dita chhor Kartarpur beth
Khadur jot jagai ⁴

Bhai Santokh Singh writes that when Guru Nanak left for his heavenly abode, Guru Angad felt sagrigated, discontent and was, in fact, lost. The Guru went straight to his house at Khadur and then enclosed himself in the house of Mai Bhirai, his aunt or his father's sister.⁵ Mai Bhirai, ultimately observed from Guru Angad's extreme state of disappointment that Guru Nanak himself had breathed his last. Lehna expressed his keen desire of sitting aloof constantly in one corner of a room observing silence in deep meditation. He went into trans internalising the senses after taking a sitting posture. On the instructions of the Guru, Mai Bhirai applied mud plaster on the walls of the room and leveled it smoothly. The Guru remained shut up in the room for a considerable period.⁶

As time lapsed on, Baba Budha, a devoted Sikh who later on served the first six Gurus and the First *Granthi* (priest) of Harmandir along with a number of other Sikhs felt pretty much worried and started searching him in the vicinity of Kartarpur. At last they came to Khadur hoping against hope to find their Guru there. All the time they recapitulated the last words of Guru Nanak that in case they required the manifestation of the Guru in any shape and form they should find him in Guru Angad himself whom he had nominated Guru after him. Finally their search came to a fruitful ending when they were able to find the Guru in Mai Bhirai's house at Khadur. Bhai Santokh Singh very confidently states that on the whole hearted appeals of the congregations to shower his blessing on them as per

4. Bhai Gurdas, *Varan*, var I, pauri 45-46.

5. *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, III, ch. IX:5-6.

6. *Ibid.*, III, ch. IX:10.

the last injunctions of Guru Nanak and guide them spiritually, the door was wide opened with the assistance of Baba Budha.⁷

The author of *Gurpartap Suraj* quotes a piece of composition said to have been repeated by Guru Angad on seeing some of the Sikhs who used to gather together round Guru Nanak when he was in physical form:

Die before the beloved one
with whom you love
To survive after him is to lead
a cursed worldly life.

(Guru Nanak: *Adi Granth*-83)⁸

Guru Angad appeared before the *sangat* and gave injunctions to keep peace and calm on the bereavement and separation of Guru Nanak and repeat the name. On listening to the demise of Guru Nanak, his Sikhs commenced assembling round Guru Angad. They were repeating it with one voice that Angad who had been nominated by the Guru after him had appeared before the public.⁹ Bhai Santokh Singh holds that Guru Angad was seated on the spiritual seat of Guru Nanak, a month after the latter's demise and light began to shine from another light. All the true and devoted Sikhs considered Guru Angad as the apostle of Guru Nanak. Bhai Gurdas later on observed:

Satgur Nanak Dev Gura Gur Hoea
Angad Alakh apheo Sehj Samoa¹⁰.

Guru Angad frequently indulged in religious discourse with Baba Budha and one day asked him to make a request to Bhai Bala, the constant companion of Guru Nanak who accompanied him to almost all the *Udasis* to visit and see him. Bhai Santokh Singh states that Guru Angad listened very attentively to all the episodes of Guru Nanak recapitulated by Bhai Bala. Guru Angad consistently remained tranquilized and mastered his feelings whenever he felt grieved while listening to the life occurrence and adventures of Guru Nanak. He remained composed and showed no concern with anybody. The worldly pleasure and pain did not have any impact on Guru Angad.¹¹

Guru Angad held that whosoever listened to the religious discourses or oral exegesis of the deeds, conduct and practices of Guru Nanak would attain salvation. People suffering from mental and physical agony, whims and superstitions facing trouble and distress got relief on coming to his presence. This added to the popularity of the Guru. Musicians sang on the stringed musical instruments like *violen*, *rabab* etc in the *darbar* of the Guru and *sangat* from far and wide enjoyed the melodious hymns. The Guru constantly remained sitting on his religious seat. Nothing except Guru Nanak's *bani* or injunctions became the subject matter of

7. *Ibid.*, III, ch. IX:18-20.

8. *Ibid.*, III, ch. IX:22; Guru Granth Sahib, 83.

9. *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, III, ch. IX:24.

10. Bhai Gurdas, *op.cit.*, var I, pauri 12.

11. *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, III, ch. IX:32-33.

the place. Stress was laid on the repetition of the Name in order to get rid of deterioration, imperfection, perversion etc and to escape from evils and immoral acts.

Sangat enjoyed delicious food while sitting in the *pangat* in the Guru's *langar* before listening to the *kirtan*. People from all walks of life sat together and food was imparted to them. Mata Khiviji, the wife of the Guru took keen interest in serving the food. *Khir* or sweet pudding was her speciality. He who took food separately was not permitted to see the Guru. Bhai Santokh Singh states that utensils made of clay were mostly used in the *langar* and food was served in leafs.¹²

It is to be observed with intensive care that in Var Ram Kali, Rai Balwand and Satta, the drummer talked about two conspicuous types of kitchens which had been opened during the pontificate of Guru Angad.

The first is that of the Guru's 'divine word':

The kitchen of the Guru's Divine word is opened and there occurs no deficiency in his earnings.¹³

and the second is:

Says Balwand, "Guru Angad's consort Khivi is a good wife. ... She distributes the Guru's wealth in his kitchen, nectar-sweet rice-pudding mixed with clarified butter."¹⁴

Var Ramkali also speaks of glamour of the institution of *langar* or community kitchen even during the times of Guru Amar Das:

.... Even in thy kitchen are clarified butter and refined wheat flour to eat.¹⁵

Since Sikhism was in its infancy treading upon the transitional stage and gaining ground day by day under the spiritual leadership of Guru Angad, some Sidhas, writes Bhai Santokh Singh, like Yogis of the *dera* of Sidh Gorakh Nath thought of meeting the very first successor of Guru Nanak. The Guru was himself a saint par excellence who after attaining triumph *digbije* reached and touched great heights. No spiritual leader, saint, chief or noble man could face him in spiritual knowledge and submitted before him. To name those who thus paid a visit to Guru Angad included Bhathri, Charpat, Gopi Chand and Eshar Nath. They were the religious persons who aimed at assessing the spiritual knowledge of the successor of Guru Nanak. They received a warm welcome from the hands of Guru Angad.¹⁶

The Yogis pleaded before the Guru that *Ashtang Yog* has great significance in the Kaliage. Soul cannot be purified without the help of Yoga. Most of the great men obtained spirituality through Yoga. They argued that the Guru was the divine

12. *Ibid.*, III, ch. IX:33.

13. *Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 967.

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, p. 968.

16. *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, III, ch. X:27-29.

incarnation since he was benevolent and on sitting on the *gaddi* or spiritual seat of Guru Nanak, he was providing disinterested favours or help to the people but in his religion, Yoga was not an approved spiritual method. How could he bring fourth the redemption, liberation or emancipation of the Sikhs. *Sidhi* (spiritual stage or miraculous power) through meditation and austerities could hardly be obtained without Yoga. Since perfect knowledge could be had with Yoga only, there were hundreds and thousands of saints and knowledgeable persons who had attained salvation by means of Yoga.¹⁷

Guru Angad remarked that his time was not like that of the previous one. He added that he believed in Bhagti Yoga. All the spiritual powers and accomplishments rest in Guru Nanak's *darbar*. Spiritual knowledge is obtained through *bhagti* only. It is the source of all the pleasures and comforts of the world. The reflections of Yoga depends on the true name. To set the body right, Yogis take the support of Yoga; then they have to set the mind in order with great difficulty. That is the only spiritual pursuit and entertainment of the Yogis. Pursuits like increasing the years of age make them always busy. Their requirement is the attainment of respect and self-conceit to exhibit them before the world. So the Yogis always remain there where there is no soul. The Lord who is the spirit of all is unknown to the Yogis. They remain without the strategy or tact of Yoga.

After narrating the dialogue among Guru Angad and the Yogis, Bhai Santokh Singh has duly quoted the *saloka* of Guru Nanak depicting the belief of the Guru about the Yoga system of spirituality:

Yoga is not in the patched coat,
nor the Yoga is in staff, nor Yoga
is in smearing the body with ashes.
Yoga consists not in ear-rings, or
in shaven head and Yoga is not even
in the blowing of horn.
Abide pure amidst the worldly
impurities. Thus shall thou find the
way to Yoga. By mere words Yoga
is obtained not.¹⁸

So Guru Angad made the concept of Yoga clear to the Yogis. The true saints believe in *sehj* Yoga, the intuitive knowledge of Yoga. Doubt, suspicion, distrust or suspense are kept at arm's length. Those who tread upon the injunctions of Guru Nanak, remain occupied in the praises of the Lord. They require counsel, schooling or advice from no other quarter. The Sidhas felt pleased that Guru Angad personated Guru Nanak and sought redemptions of the masses. The Sidhas admitted that Guru Nanak was a great reformer and guided the way for the salvation

17. *Ibid.*, III, ch. X:27-29

18. *Ibid.*, III, ch. X:34; *Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 730, tr. Manmohan Singh, p. 2382.

of many. He had indeed nominated Guru Angad as his successor after assessing his capability. It was not only on account of the whole hearted service only rendered to Guru Nanak but because of his qualities of head and heart as well.¹⁹

There is a strong tradition that Sidhas once made a query from Guru Angad as to how was he able to attract and impress Guru Nanak towards himself. He must have applied some miracle to captivate him. Guru Angad humbly remarked with intellectual grasp and caliber that while lying on the bed side with his mother when an infant falls down on the floor, the mother picks him up with warmth and affinity. Similarly he (Lehna) was without patronage, protection and support and had virtually fallen down; Guru Nanak was kind and generous enough to pick him up. Likewise Sheikh Farid was once asked by someone during his times how could God be pleased and salvation be attained? His response was:

Humility is the word, forgiveness
the virtue and sweetness
of tongue, the jewel like spell.
Wear thou these three robes, O my
sister, then alone thy spouse would
come under thy hold.²⁰

Some of the significant contributions of Guru Angad which figure prominently during the period of his pontificate include preaching the mission of Guru Nanak, his overall efforts towards the development of Sikh movement, his contribution towards Gurmukhi script, nomination of most capable person Amar Das as his successor etc.

Guru Angad's contribution towards capacitating and qualifying Gurmukhi script can hardly be denied. Scholars like Bhai Kahan Singh Nabha hold that a number of Gurmukhi words existed even before Guru Nanak. Certain words of Gurmukhi script favourably match with 'Sharda' and 'Takri'. Bhai Gurdas states that after his *Udasis*, when Guru Nanak settled at Kartarpur, he stopped wearing clothes pertaining to the practice of ascetics, thus adopting the worldly style. He cited his own compositions for bringing enlightenment and removing the darkness of ignorance. It seems probable that Guru Angad thereby worked on the existing languages and evolved words which came to be called Gurmukhi having come from the lips of the Guru. Though the compositions of *Janam Sakhis* are considered to be of much later period, yet if we rely upon *Puratan Janam Sakhi*, Guru Nanak handed over his compositions to Guru Angad at the last stage of his life.

The preservation of the *bani* of Guru Nanak and Guru Angad's own *salokas* about 62 in number go a long way in serving as nucleus to the compilation of *Guru Granth Sahib* during the pontificate of Guru Arjan.²¹ The thought provoking creative spiritual exercise of Guru Angad captivated the disciples whose number

19. *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, III, ch. X:36.

20. *Guru Granth Sahib*, p. 384.

21. Teja Singh Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Patiala, 1989, p.18.

went on increasing day by day and led to the surprising popularity of infant Sikh religion.

Prince Khusrau's visit in the *darbar* of Guru Arjan for seeking blessings of the *darvesh* at the crucial time is somewhat understandable because by the time of the fourth successor of Guru Nanak Sikhism had gained sufficient ground. But the visit of Emperor Humayun in Guru Angad's court²² as per the Sikh tradition straightway suggests the legacy of Guru Nanak's mission and its popularity.

The noble bearing of Guru Angad and the acuteness he possessed captivated one and all which resulted in the rapid spread of Sikh movement during his pontificate, the infant stage of the religion notwithstanding.

22. *Gurpartap Suraj Granth*, III, ch. X:51-62.

GURBILAS PATSHAHI DAS IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Kavita Rani*

Gurbilas Patshahi Das, authored by Koer Singh deemed to have been written in 1751 A.D.¹ is available in manuscript as well as in print form. Its manuscript copies are lying in various libraries and printed form was made available to the desiderative readers in 1968 A.D. by Punjabi University, Patiala.

The excellence of Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* lies in the fact that after Sainapat, this is of immense help in rebuilding the account of the life and activities of Guru Gobind Singh. Many a gaps have been filled up by him, besides endorsing his statements and giving a much sought for information. For instance Koer Singh's account of the creation of the Khalsa and the *rahit* prescribed by the Guru for his Singhs embody the tradition which is still a part and parcel of Sikh life. Koer Singh has given clarity to the concept of guruship to the Khalsa and the *Adi Granth* after toeing the lines of Sainapat.

Scanty of information is available about Koer Singh, the author of this work from the work under reference and from other sources. The author simply states that he is Koer Singh Kalal who lived in the courtyard (neighbourhood) of Kambojs. At one time he was not baptized but afterwards he took baptism of sword. Later on after leaving the job in which he was serving, he took pleasure in listening to the *sakhis* from Bhai Mani Singh. Nevertheless, the writer furnishes no details of his personal bio-data but the aim of his writing is clear from the work itself. Mani Singh supplied the religious narrative for those desirous of living their life in a particular style based on the injunctions of Sikh Gurus.

Contemporary sources like *Bachittar Natak*, Bhai Nandlal's '*Kulyyat*' and Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha* etc., do not provide as much information and details about the tenth master as is positively expected from these sources. Of course, these works are indispensable in their own way and discuss some of the important themes related to history of Guru Gobind Singh. Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* undoubtedly makes up this deficiency and gives minutest details. We may take this discussion further to elaborate this point. *Sri Gur Sobha* simply makes mention of the fact that the tenth Guru shifted to Makhawal from Patna and stayed there for sometime.

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1. It is sometimes argued that in case the dating of Sukha Singh's *Gurbilas* (1797 A.D.) is deemed correct, the *Gurbilas* attributed to Koer Singh should be the work of 19th century. But this hypothesis needs further probe into as the internal evidence of 1751 A.D. cannot be easily ignored.

Whereas *Kulyyat* of Bhai Nandlal throw no light on this issue. *Bachittar Natak*, the autobiography of Guru Gobind Singh excels in giving the details on this subject but Koer Singh delves at length on the activities of the tenth Guru at Anandpur and Paonta during his stay over there. We may say that Bhai Nandlal's work goes a long way in bringing to lime light the personality and influence of Guru Gobind Singh by applauding his achievements.

It cannot be denied that the material gathered from *Bachittar Natak* about the life and career of Guru Gobind Singh is extremely useful. It enlightens us that Guru Gobind Singh was born at Patna when his father Guru Tegh Bahadur had to proceed on pilgrimage to the sanctified places in the East.² Guru Gobind Singh himself states that his father made arrangements for bringing up of the child Gobind in Mader Desh.³ The arrangements were quite elaborate. His father expired when Guru Gobind Singh grew up and reached the stage of understanding 'dharma karma'. He preached his religious beliefs to his capacity. He also refers to his fondness for hunting and killing of the wild beasts.⁴ Afterwards the Guru proceeded to Paonta. Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* not only elaborates these points but also goes a long way in giving us information about some new important themes relating to the tenth Guru's life. It may not be out of place to mention here that Koer Singh has taken some of his subject matter from *Bachittar Natak* and *Sri Gur Sobha*. Sukha Singh's *Gurbilas* (1797 A.D.)⁵ enriches itself by taking significant themes from Koer Singh.

The details of battles fought by the Sikhs of Guru Gobind Singh can well be understood in the light of the contents of Koer Singh's *Gurbilas*. Taking the case of the battle of Bhangani, we may say that though certain writings give the impression that Raja Bhim Chand was not personally present in the battle yet Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* throws the responsibility of this battle on Raja Bhim Chand,⁶ his absence in this battle notwithstanding. We see gaps in the narrative of *Sri Gur Sobha* whereas Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* considers continuity as a valuable instrument for a chronicle.⁷

As regards the causes of the battle of Bhangani, *Bachittar Natak* brings to our notice the ever quoted lines of Guru Gobind Singh that enraged Fateh Shah assaulted the Guru without any rhyme or reason.⁸ We can easily presume and

2. Guru Gobind Singh, *Bachittar Natak*, ch.7:1.

3. *ibid.*, ch.7:2.

4. *ibid.*, ch.7-8:1-3.

5. Sukha Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi Dasvin* (ed. Gursharan Kaur Jaggi), Patiala, N.D., pp. 1,47.

6. Koer Singh, *Gurbilas Patshahi Das*, Punjabi University, Patiala, 1968, pp. 77-96.

7. One or two examples will be sufficient here to illustrate the point. Whereas Sainapat's statements about the *Rahit* prescribed for the *Khalsa* and the bestowing of guruship on the *Adi Granth* need more clarification and are brief, Koer Singh's information in both the cases is detailed and comprehensive. As regards the battles of Guru Gobind Singh with the Hill Rajas and the Mughals, some *Vars* have also been composed. Even a *Var* describing the Battle of Bhangani has also been referred by Dr. Ganda Singh, see *Punjab dian Varan* edited by him, Amritsar, 1946, p.11.

8. *Bachittar Natak*, ch. 8:3; cf. Sainapat, *Sri Gur Sobha* (ed. Ganda Singh), Patiala, 1967, p.8.

conclude that the warlike activity of the Guru provoked Fateh Shah and others like Bhim Chand of Kahlur for the Battle of Bhangani as is implied clearly in the writing of Koer Singh.⁹

Koer Singh gives the details of Hill Rajas who opted to fight against the Guru and his Sikhs in the Battle of Bhangani. They included Fateh Shah, Hari Chand, Ram Singh, Sahib Chand representing Jaswar, Dhadwar, etc. Koer Singh also gives the details of Rajas who opposed to fight.

Whatsoever may be the causes of the Battle of Bhangani, it may easily be said that Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* adds to our information on various issues.¹⁰ We may add here that Koer Singh unlike others has given the place of the battle namely Bhangani.

Dhanukh baan lei thaan Bhangani

*Kart yudh satgur sukhdani*¹¹

Hukamnamas issued by Guru Gobind Singh confirm that the Guru ordained his Sikhs to bring the war material while going in for other requirements.¹²

After the Battle of Bhangani the Guru came back to Anandpur and fortified it with forts namely Anandgarh, Kesgarh, Lohgarh, and Fatehgarh. This was simply done to restrain the hilly chiefs. Alif Khan, a military General was sent by Mian Khan, the Governor of Jammu to demand tribute from Bhim Chand who had refused to do so. The hill chiefs led by Bhim Chand sought help from the Guru. The Guru agreed to this as he regarded it a national cause. The Battle of Nadaun took place on 20th March, 1691. Koer Singh removes our doubt about this battle and clarifies that Mian Khan of Jammu marched forward with his troops for collecting tribute. Alif Khan was dispatched to Nadaun. Alif Khan faced Bhim Chand's troops in the battle field. Koer Singh gives useful details in this regard. The battles of Guru Gobind Singh with Khanzada and Hussaini are also vividly explained by Koer Singh. He also gives some space to the Guru's victory against the Khanzada.¹³

Whereas Koer Singh contributes significantly in reconstructing the history of pre-*Khalsa* battles, he also gives useful assistance in making up the discontinuity left in the writings of Sainapat. Sainapat has given an explicit account of the post-*Khalsa* battles of Anandpur; nonetheless, Koer Singh adds to our information that Guru Gobind Singh had four elephants which proved as one of the causes of the battles against the hill Raja of Kahlur. The main cause of the enmity of the Hill Chiefs with the Guru was the misconception regarding the activities of the Guru

9. Koer Singh, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-83; cf. J.S. Grewal & S. S. Bal, *Guru Gobind Singh* (A Biographical Study), Panjab University, Chandigarh, 1967, p.180.

10. Koer Singh, *op.cit.*, pp 75-78; cf. Giani Gian Singh, *Panth Prakash*, Patiala, 1970 (reprint), p.193.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-96. Giani Gian Singh is silent in this case.

12. *Hukamname* (ed. Ganda Singh), Punjabi University, Patiala, 1967, nos. 37, 43.

13. Koer Singh, *op.cit.*, p.173.

*Ya bidh sain hati sabh sari
bhaj Khan Sut traas vichari.*

they deemed political.

Koer Singh's writing on post-*Khalsa* battles of Anandpur is at times confirmed by Giani Gian Singh. As regards the second post-*Khalsa* Battle of Anandpur, Sainapat deals with several aspects of the war which include the strength of soldiers and the scenes of the battle. Koer Singh dittos some of the facts narrated by Sainapat and sometimes even repeats the same lines. Koer Singh gives the name of the participant Hill Rajas in the battle. He even states that Emperor Aurangzeb swearing on the *Quran* requested Guru Gobind Singh for reconciliation.¹⁴ Sukha Singh and Bhai Santokh Singh accept this view. As regards the evacuation of Anandpur, the Sikhs pressed the Guru hard for capitulation. Forty of them left him in the lurch after writing a disclaimer.¹⁵ The mother of the Guru was persuaded by the Sikhs to convince him for evacuation of Anandpur in 1704 A.D. The Guru is stated to have argued that he would show the Sikhs the deceitful actions of the hill chiefs. Koer Singh's account also contains the details of articles destroyed by the Guru lying in his possession before leaving Anandpur. These articles contained old horse saddles, bags, torn out cotton and woolen clothes, stones etc.

Koer Singh draws a pen picture of how the Guru got several articles packed up and loaded on the bullocks. The Guru then informed the Hill Rajas about his departure from Anandpur. It came to be known to all that the Guru along with his Sikhs was leaving Anandpur bag and baggage. On hearing about the departure of the Guru along with his treasures, the hill chiefs felt pleased and arranged to attack the *caravan* of the Guru at midnight. Koer Singh explains how the attack was made on the Sikhs carrying the pairs of bullocks with flambeaus. Bhai Santokh Singh also gives useful detail of how the Hill Raja pounced upon the *caravan* of the Guru. The feeble minded Hill Chiefs and the Turks proved their dishonesty and lack of sincerity. Here we may safely say that Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* brings the oral tradition in authentic form. *Sri Gur Sobha* does not give much information right from the Battle of Chumkaur to the departure of the Guru to Decan. This period of Guru's career can in no case be lost sight of.

Koer Singh gives details of the Battle of Chumkaur. A fierce battle took place between the Sikhs who were scanty in number and the royal force. Guru Gobind Singh himself has taken note of this disparity in his letter to Emperor Aurangzeb namely *Zafarnama*. Sainapat points out that Wazir Khan made an announcement by the beat of drum that in case the Guru submitted along with his Sikhs, his life would be saved adding that the Fortress of Chumkaur had been besieged from all the sides. The battle continued for a quarter of day since arrows,

14. Koer Singh, *op.cit.*, p.190, cf. Satbir Singh, *Purakh Bhagwant*, Jalandhar, 1988, p.189.

15. Bhai Santokh Singh gives details in this connection in his *Sri Gurpartap Suraj Granth* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), Vol. xii, Amritsar, 2022 BK, p.5845.

Tate likh likh sakal bedawa

chale jahan jit mun bhava.

cf. Kesar Singh Chhibbar, *Bansavalinama Dasan Patshahian Ka* (ed. Piara Singh Padam), Amritsar, 1997, 10:353-55.

bows, spears and guns were pressed into action. Since the number of Sikhs were very small, death was sure but the Sikhs of the Guru fought to the last having full faith on their Prophet. *Jathas* of Kaudha Singh, Mohkam Singh, Dhian Singh, Lal Singh, Mehar Singh, Ishar Singh etc., fought to their best and showed feats of warfare. Wazir Khan was supported by Generals like Faulad Khan, Bhura Khan, Jahan Khan, Usman Khan etc. Guru Gobind Singh sent his son Sahibzada Ajit Singh with some Sikhs like Alam Singh, Jawahar Singh, Sukha Singh etc. After facing and killing many foes with his sword and arrows Sahibzada Ajit Singh lost his life.

Some writings like Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha*, Koer Singh's *Gurbilas*, Kesar Singh Chhibar's *Bansavalinama*, Sarup Dass Bhalla's *Mehma Prakash*, etc., give useful information with regard to this battle. *Bhat Vahis* are also very informative especially in furnishing the account of the battle and supplying us the names of the participants. *Bhat Vahi Multani Sindi* gives below mentioned details about some of the participants from the Guru's side who lost their lives in the Battle of Chumkaur. *Bhat Vahi Multani Sindi* holds:

*Jujhar Singh beta Guru Gobind
Singh, mahl dasmen ka samvat
satran sai baasth lokh maase
sudi teej birvar ke dehun ...
Bhai Anik Singh beta Mani Singh
ka, Ajaib Singh beta Mani Singh
ka pote Mai Das ke, Kirpa Singh
beta Aru Ram ka, Sanmukh Singh
beta Aru Ram ka pota Narain Das
ka, Mujail Dutt Brahman, Mukand
Singh beta Mati Das ka pota Hira
Nand ka, Sarasut Chhibbar Brahman
Aath ghari dehun Chamkaur ke
malhan Pargana Ropar Turk fauj gail
same maathe jujh ke shahadatan pai gae.*¹⁶

Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* is the first in throwing clear light on the injunction of Guru Gobind Singh to consider the *Adi Granth* as the Guru. This injunction was given in the last moments of the Guru's career. The following lines in Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* depict Guru Gobind Singh's injunction to consider *gurbani* as the Guru. This statement was made by the Guru in a ceremonious way. Koer Singh gives it in the chapter entitled '*antam samachar*' (last state of affairs):

*Guriai ka nahi ab kaal
Tilk na devhega kis bhal*

...

16. Extracts from *Bhat Vahis*. Giani Garja Singh who collected the account of Sikh Gurus from *Bhat Vahis* writes about the Battle of Chumkaur that Thirty Sikhs and two elder *Sahibzadas* of Guru Gobind Singh namely Ajit Singh and Jujhar Singh received martyrdom in this battle.

*lad pakdae sabad ka rup
jo mane sau singh anup
dasam Gur ka hai savdhan
sri Granthji sahib maan
lei aavo tako ya than*

...

*tab pun aaap utthe sabh sanga
paise panch naliar sau anga
lei ke taahe arap ki bandan
pardakhan karte mun rangan
Kaha' joe bach kina chahe
Path kare Guru ko sukh paae
Ya sam aur koi Gur naahi¹⁷*

...

Some of the major themes taken up by Koer Singh include the early career of Guru Gobind Singh and his pontificate, battles fought between the Sikhs and the Mughals and the Hill Chiefs, indifference of the Hill Chiefs towards the Sikhs, the Battle of Lohgarh, 'Hussiani Yudh', *Shahzada* Muazam and the Sikhs, the campaigns of the Mughal soldiers, the *Zafarnama*, the account of Talwandi Sabo, the role of *Sahibzada* Tara Aazam and his demise, Guru Gobind Singh at Abchal Nagar, Naded, bestowing of guruship to the *Adi Granth* and the *Khalsa*, the last event of the Guru Gobind Singh's career.

The contribution of Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* in tracing the history of the life and times of Guru Gobind Singh can never be minimized as his account narrates the whole career of the Guru in detail right from the beginning to the end in a continuous form. It is worth pointing out here that Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* can be easily considered basic evidence from the point of view of the authentic material found in it; the primary source of Bhai Mani Singh having been the basis of the *Gurbilas*. Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha* is one of the major sources from which some of the subject matter of this *Gurbilas* has been taken up. It may be easily stated after probing deep into both the works that Koer Singh sometimes inserts the very lines of the text of *Sri Gur Sobha*, in his writing. Whereas Koer Singh has filled up certain gaps left by Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha*, he has at times depended on this work for his text.

The major drawback of this work is that the author has sometimes given misleading years while explaining certain historical episodes. Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* fails to give accurate dates of the period Guru Gobind Singh spent with Emperor Bahadur Shah. This fact can be endorsed by studying the dates of the campaigns of Emperor Bahadur Shah given in Persian sources. Persian sources are indeed helpful. The news of the death of the Guru Gobind Singh finds a prominent

17. Koer Singh, *op.cit.*, p.284. For a brief authentic account of life and career of Guru Gobind Singh, see Teja Singh Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, Vol.I, Patiala, 1994, pp.56-75.

mention in the Royal Court News, the *Akhbarat-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* of October-November 1708 A.D. and in the *Bahadur Shah Nama*.¹⁸ Koer Singh has left no stone unturned to present Guru Gobind Singh as the leader of freedom struggle because of the simple reason that the period was the time of Sikh-Mughal struggle. Koer Singh's attention seems to have been mainly diverted towards this aspect of Guru Gobind Singh's life and much has not been said by him by way of expressing the religious achievements of the Guru.

In the end, we may say that research on Guru Gobind Singh's life and time is incomplete without an assessment and evaluation of his *Bachittar Natak*, Sainapat's *Sri Gur Sobha* and Koer Singh's *Gurbilas*. Nevertheless, the informative account of Koer Singh's *Gurbilas* meticulously enables the modern researcher to arrive at valuable conclusions with the help of contemporary and near contemporary works.

18. Dr. Ganda Singh has also given details in 'Guru Gobind Singh de Antle Din', in *Sikh Itihas Bare*, Lahore, 1946, pp. 35-55.

POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL ROLE OF BABA ALA SINGH AND JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA

*Gurkiranjit Kaur Grewal**

The eighteenth century history of Punjab is dominated by Afghans, Marathas, Sikhs and Mughals. The struggle for supremacy in this region and the rise of Sikh political power was a result of collective endeavour of the united Punjab people. During this period two most important leaders emerged on the scene were – Baba Ala Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia.

PHULKIAN STATES : Ala Singh belonged to Phulkian States – who trace their ancestry to Jesal i.e. founder of Jesalmer. He had four sons – of these Hemhel who sacked Hisar¹ later was made governor of Sirsa and Bathinda. After his death, the succession continued till Khiwa headed the clan. For the want of heir, he married the daughter of Basir, a Jat zamindar of Neli. He was blessed with a son named Sidhu. When Babur invaded India, Sanghar decendant of Sidhu, joined him but was killed in battle of Panipat, on 21st April, 1526. Babur bestowed *chaudharyat* on latter's son. Of these successors, Phul is worth mentioning. He rose fast to power and consolidated his position. Later on, Phulkian states came into power during the reign of Ala Singh, the grandson of Phul and the third son of Rama. He was born in 1691 at village Phul. He was married at the age of two to Fatto, daughter of Chaudari Kala of village Kaleke. In 1714, Ala Singh succeeded to the ownership of few villages. In 1722, he set up his headquarters at Barnala. It marked the real beginning of his career and Barnala remained his headquarters for next forty years. He was surrounded by powerful enemies – in north Rai Kalha, Chief of Kot, in west-Brars and in south – the Bhattis. But with grit, patience and diplomacy, he overcame his enemies. It was the battle of Barnala in 1731 A.D, near village Thikriwala where Ala Singh along Majha Sikhs led by Kapur Singh on one side against confederacy of Muslim Chiefs of neighbourhood² on the other, it was a turning point in his career. His victory in this battle established him as one of the important chiefs of cis-satluj region³. Ala Singh was served *Khande-ka-*

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1. Lepel Griffin, *Rajas of the Punjab*, Languages Department, Patiala, Punjab, 1970, p.2.
2. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. IV, New Delhi, 1982, p. 146. It comprised of Manj leader, Jamal Khan of Malerkotla, Daler Khan of Halwara and Asad Ali Khan, governor of Jalandhar Doab.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 144. The cis-satluj region lay between river Jamuna on the east and river Satluj in the west. For administration it was divided among three provinces of Delhi, Lahore and Multan. Its two divisions of Sarhind and Hisar were included in Delhi province. Kot Kapura, Faridkot, Ferozpur and the Lakhri jungle were under Lahore. The Abohar zone formed a part of Multan province. The Phulkian States were under Delhi.

Pahul by Sardar Kapur Singh⁴. This conversion brought him closer to the Khalsa.

Ala Singh realized the political position of Punjab before conquering more areas to strengthen and expansion of his state. In west the Afghan King, Ahmed Shah Durrani had conquered Punjab, in east and south, the Mughal power was declining rapidly and Dal Khalsa which was formed in 1748 A.D. under leadership of Kapur Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as commander-in-chief was creating disturbances. Ala Singh decided to try his luck in the east and in the south. He extended his rule to Pargana of Sunam, Samana, Banur and Ghurram. Sanaur, once a village, was seat of Sherwani Afghan taaluqadar named Muhammad Saleh Khokhar⁵. He voluntarily offered 84 villages called chaurasi including site of modern Patiala to Ala Singh. Later this place began to develop and he shifted his capital from Barnala to Patiala in February, 1764.

Ala Singh developed relationship with no less than four great powers of India i.e. Mughals, Marathas, Afghans and Dal Khalsa.

Ala Singh was par excellence in diplomacy. He did not want to perpetuate Mughal authority but as a shrewd statesman he aided the Mughal Emperors whenever as an ally of Delhi government and won distinction in the battles. He was honoured with robe of honour by Prince Ahmed. In 1758, Ghazi-ud-din Imad led Alamgir II, Mughal Emperor to the territory of Hansi and Hissar, the Mughal troopers began to fight Mohd. Amin Khan, arch enemy of Ala Singh. Ala Singh met the Wazir and help the Mughal troopers⁶.

Maratha records describe him as a great friend and as ally of Marathas. Ala Singh is the only name among the Sikh misldars mentioned frequently in Maratha letters. In the third battle of Panipat which was fought between the Afghan king Ahmed Shah and the Marathas, Ala Singh fully responded to the Peshwa's call for friendship by helping the starving Marathas with food grains at great risk of Abdali's displeasure. Besides this, he gave shelter and protection to Maratha refugees after the fateful battle of Panipat⁷.

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for number of times from 1747 to 1767 A.D. Earlier Ala Singh was showing pro-Maratha and anti-Afghan policy. After seeing the disaster of Marathas in the battle of Panipat, his policy changed towards Afghans. When Barnala was plundered by Afghans, his emissaries purchased the withdrawl by payment of four lakhs as nazarana. Later Ala Singh was warmly received by Durrani to confirm his possessions. He was conferred robe of honour and title of Raja with *tabl-o-alam*, as insignia of royalty⁸. The faujdar of

4. Ratan Singh Bhangu, *Panth Prakash*, Wajir Hind Press, ed. 1939, p. 268.

5. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol.IV, p.146. Gian Singh in his *Twarikh Guru Khalsa*, p.676, calls him Ata Muhamad Khan.

6. Kirpal Singh, *Life of Maharaja Ala Singh of Patiala and His Times*, p. 135.

7. H.R. Gupta, *History of the Sikhs*, Vol. IV, p. 150, The following places contain Maratha families decending from the refugees of 1761. Birchpur, Dola, Hat, Julana Mandi, Kaithal, Narwana, Phurlak, Sargthal, Thana.

8. Lepel Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

Sirhind was ordered to regard Ala Singh's possessions separate from the territory under his own jurisdiction. Ala Singh's jurisdiction was acknowledged to extend over 726 villages⁹. In the *Wadda Ghallughara* in February 1762, Ala Singh joined neither Dal Khalsa nor the Durrani. The Afghan King was annoyed. He laid waste Barnala. He ordered Ala Singh to present himself in Durrani Camp, where he was told to shave his head. Ala Singh could never think of permitting this. He therefore struck of clever device and intimated to Shah that he was prepared to purchase his hair. Shah succumbed to his tempting offer. Thus Ala Singh saved himself of this difficult situation. In January 1764, Zain Khan, the governor of Sirhind was killed by the Sikhs. They captured Sirhind and transfer it to Ala Singh. In 1765, when Dhurrani was at Sirhind on his way back to Afghanistan, he gave recognition to Ala Singh's possessions of the territory of Sirhind, subject to the payment of an annual tribute of three and half lakh rupees¹⁰.

Ala Singh's relation with his co-religionists were cordial and deep. If at that times he developed friendship with other powers which was resented by Dal Khalsa, it was only he feared that Sikh supremacy in cis-sutlej territory was in great danger of extinction at the hands of victors of Panipat. At that times Sikhs yet antagonized by the apparently compromising policy of Ala Singh but wise Sikh leaders like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, know fully well that Ala Singh's submission to Abdali and his acceptance of honours and title at the hands of Afghan emperor were no less than a piece of diplomacy which was aimed at protection of Sikh territory in cis-sutlej area. Ala Singh's policy was to gain money and territory by remaining loyal first to Delhi, later to Kabul, having all the time the Dal Khalsa on his side. In 1761, Ala Singh submitted to Afghan King. The Dal Khalsa was greatly annoyed and they marched towards Barnala to punish Ala Singh. He sent his vakils to wait upon Jassa Singh, to apologise and to impose a fine on him. Other leaders of Sikh misls wanted to punish Ala Singh but Jassa Singh took a liberal view to Ala Singh. Ala Singh appeared before Dal Khalsa explained his position, offered apologies and accepted a fine price of punishment. He expressed his deep gratitude to Jassa Singh and requested him to become his patron by administering *pahul* to him.

JASSA SINGH AHLUWALIA AND DAL KHALSA : Jassa Singh Ahluwalia founder of Ahluwalia misl was born in sammat 1775, May 3, 1718 in the house of Badar Singh. He was five when Badar Singh died and his mother took both the sons to the house of their maternal uncle Bagh Singh¹¹. Jassa Singh stayed with his maternal uncle where arrangement for his education were made. After Bagh Singh's death, who died in skirmish with *badshahi fauj* at village Huria, Jassa

9. Bhagat Singh, *A History of Sikh Misals*, p. 305. The names of the *parganas* and the number of villages were – Sunam 224 villages 4, Chhat 8, Banur 36, Massingan 17, Ghurram 6 and Mansurpur 23.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

11. Ram Sukh Rao's, *Jassa Singh Singh Binod*, ff. 57 a-b. Ram Sukh Rao seems to be the first writer who refers to the second son of Badar Singh.

Singh was nominated as his successor. It was then he came in contact with Sardar Kapur Singh. He was a brave resident of village Ahlu i.e. how he became famous as Ahluwalia. It was from here he started his political career. Jassa Singh was the ablest lieutenant of Sardar Kapur Singh and after the organization of Sikh fighting bands into Dal Khalsa, he came into prominence. After the demise of Sardar Kapur Singh, Jassa Singh was chosen as leader of the Sikhs¹². Jassa Singh's name is associated with nearly all the expeditions undertaken by the Sikhs during this period, whether these expeditions were against the invaders or within the Sikh misls.

According to Ram Sukh Rao Jassa Singh Ahluwalia's dealing with his contemporaries in the Punjab were largely in term of suzerain-vassal relationship. Jassa Singh is said to have graciously allowed a considerable number of rulers to continue in possession of their territories subject to the acknowledgement of his superior position. The author specifically refers to the Sikh rulers of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and Bhadaur, were also vassals of Ahluwalia Chief¹³. It is said that besides acknowledging Jassa Singh's suzerainty, most of the chiefs paid nazarana to him and their vakils were stationed at Fatehbad, the headquarter of the Ahluwalias.

Jassa Singh helped Adina Beg Khan and fought against Lahore troops and delivered a crushing defeat and returned to Jalandhar, which he got vacated and placed thanedar there. In November 1761, Jassa Singh and Dal Khalsa attacked Lahore, Khwaja Ubaid Khan, governor of Lahore, Zain Khan, governor of Sirhind (Jan. 14, 1764), Sadat Khan of Jalandhar and Afghan generals Jahan Khan, the commander-in-chief of Ahmed Shah Durrani and Sarbulland Khan¹⁴. Jassa Singh defeated a large army sent against the Sikhs under the command of Aziz Khan¹⁵. Jassa Singh led Dal Khalsa in three expeditions against the Pathans of Kasur. Twice they took up arms against cow killers and third time, when Azim Khan Langar one of the leading Pathans looted the marriage party of Hari Singh Bangi's son. Sikhs attacked the city and punished the offenders. It is also stated that fierce fight took place in which two Pathan leaders were killed and others sued for peace which was granted on the condition of payment of tribute and also not to kill cows again¹⁶. In 1775, Jassa Singh attacked Lahore and the governor was killed. The city was divided among Bhangi Sardars – Lehna Singh, Sobha Singh and Gujjar Singh. During settlement of Lahore, the Ahluwalia chief is reported to have said that Lehna Singh, Sobha Singh and Gujjar Singh are also our men. My aim is to conquer Hindustan¹⁷. When Ahmed Shah entered Punjab for the last time in winters of 1766, he was constantly harassed by the Sikhs. He is said to have written letters to Jassa Singh Ahluwalia to conclude

12. *Ibid*; f 86-b, Teja Singh and Ganda Singh, *A Short History of the Sikhs*, p. 128.

13. *Ibid*, ff. 111b, 113a-b, 114a-b, 117b, 118b, 119a.

14. *Ibid*, ff. 82b, 106a-b, 107a-b, 111a-b, 116b, 118a-b, 121a-b.

15. *Ibid*, ff. 77a & 81b.

16. *Ibid*, ff. 107a-b, 119a-b, 198a-b, 199a, Lepel Griffin. *The Rajas of the Punjab*, p. 463.

17. *Ibid*, ff. 80a-b.

peace and also offered the sardari of Punjab which the Ahluwalia chief refused¹⁸.

Jassa Singh along with Sardars of Dal Khalsa had taken expeditions across Yamuna. Najib-ud-Daulah, Rohilla chief, was appointed by Abdali at Delhi in 1756. Jassa Singh was called for help against Najib-ud-daulah by Jawahar Singh son of Jat ruler of Bharatpur, Suraj Mal, who had given asylum to Sher Khan, the culprit. Dal Khalsa led by Jassa Singh, accompanied by Maratha forces marched against Najib-ud-daulah. He had taken refuge in Delhi which was invaded by the Sikhs and Marathas. It was then they learnt of invasion of Punjab by Durrani. The Durrani invader could not come up to Sirhind from where he returned to Kabul, not without molestation from the Sikhs who captured almost the whole of his baggage at Chenab¹⁹. Jassa Singh not only protected the Sikhs from foreign attacks but also tried hard to keep them united. Internal rivalries of the misls like Ramgarhia Sardars and Kanahiya sardars was irreconcilable, but was solved with intervention of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The Sodhis of Kartarpur were boycotted by Sikhs presumably because of their dependency from Dhir Mal²⁰. It was Jassa Singh's efforts that Sodhis of Kartarpur were accepted within the fold of Sikhism. Jassa Singh had amicable relations with rulers of Rajputana particularly Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Bikaner and Bharatpur. He occasionally helped them or mediate in their disputes.

Thus, when analysed the contribution of both the leaders to the Sikh Panth had been invaluable and incredible. Both were conferred with the titles of Maharaja and *Panth-ke-Malik* respectively but they remained humble and performed their duties honestly. Ala Singh's eternal loyalty to Dal Khalsa gives an ample proof that his aim was never inconsistent with that of other Sikhs and his temporary surrender to Abdali and payment of tributes to him was nothing more than political expediency and piece of diplomacy. He made such alliances with Marathas, Najib Khan and Abdali in such a way to enhance his prestige and power which led him among most important chiefs of north-west Delhi territory. Also he wanted his territory to consolidate internally and his position to be independent and sovereign. He confined himself in the cis-satluj zone so that neither Abdali nor the emerging Dal Khalsa sardars could be provoked. On the other hand, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia worked both for his own misl and for Khalsa also but his inclination was more towards unification of Khalsa. He successfully checked Afghan invaders and the Mughals. He not only performed his political duties but spiritual also. He did more than any contemporary Sikh to consolidate the power of Khalsa. Jassa Singh was a Sikh by honest conviction.

18. Ram Sukh Rao, '*Jassa Singh Singh Binod*', ff. 116b, 117a-b.

19. Bhagat Singh, *op. cit.*, p.64.

20. Ram Sukh Rao, '*Jassa Singh Singh Binod*', ff. 239b, 240a.

PUNJABI DIASPORAN PHILANTHROPIC PROJECTS IN PUNJAB

Charanjit Kaur Maan & Gurmeji Singh Maan***

The Punjabis are basically mobile people. Punjab is known for receiving and sending its population inside and outside India but the migration of the Punjabis to the European, American and African countries was the outcome of the British empire. The largest number of Punjabis were recruited in the British Indian Army and big number of Punjabis were employed in East Asian and African colonies. Though, the migration of Punjabis to England started in the early 20th century, yet large number of the Punjabis started migrating to England after the Second World War.

The Punjabis also started settling in Canada and USA during last quarter of the 19th century. Now Punjabis have settled all over the world and have constituted Punjabi Diaspora. It is difficult to mention the exact number of Punjabis settled abroad as the proper statistics are not available and an estimated number of Punjabis settled abroad has been given by Tatla, as under :

The Punjabi diaspora has been created in the major part of the world. Above 90% Punjabis settled abroad are Sikhs. The United Kingdom has the largest Sikh Community with 3,36,419 or 0.5% of its 58 million population in 2001. Canada has the second larger community with 278,415 or nearly 1% of Canada's 30 millions population. This is a steep rise from 147,440 in the 1991 census. For the US precise figure remain elusive Sikhs are counted as part of Asian Indians which numbered 1,678,765 in the total population of 281 millions. While Sikhs' proportion of India's population has decreased sharply in the 2000 census from early figure of 1960, when they constituted a majority. The current estimate is of 200,000 Sikhs though much higher figures are also quoted. For the rest of the world, only estimates are available. It seems reasonable to assume the Europe exclusive of UK, has about 100,000 Sikhs, with Belgium, Germany and Italy have large communities of 25,000 each while Denmark, France, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland have a few thousand each. In the Far East, some closer estimates can give extracts from various sources in the 2001 census for Australia, of its 77

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million population, Indians were 156,000, the strength of Sikhs can be put at 40,000. In the New Zealand, Indian numbered 42,408 in the 2001 census these Hindu's are listed 25,293 of the rest, a figure of 10,000 for Sikhs. Sikh Communities in other Far Eastern countries are; Singapore 32,000, Hong Kong 5,000, Malaysia 36000, Indonesia 5000, Philipines 20,000, Thailand 15000, Fiji 2,000. In the East Africa, the Sikh population has changed vastly.*

The existence of the non-Sikh population abroad, the illegal Punjabi emigrants and increase of the Punjabi diaspora population from 2001 onwards, due to increase of emigration from the Punjab and population growth of the Punjabi diaspora, help to assume that the current estimated population of the Punjabi diaspora is above 2 millions. The current estimated number of population of the Punjabi diaspora is more than the double of the facts quoted above.

The Punjabi overseas have not only succeeded in community formation but also struggling hard to establishing in the political and business mainstream of host countries. Many Punjabis like Lord Swrajpal, Piara Singh Khamba, Ujjal Dosanjh, Gurbaksh Singh Malhi, Didar Singh Bains and Bobby Jindal etc. are some examples of being accepted by the host countries in the political and business mainstream. The Punjabi diaspora has also succeeded in articulating the Punjabi identity particularly the Sikh identity abroad.

In the academic world, the Punjabis have been recognized as a very essential part of international Diaspora. Scholars like W.H. McLeod, Tom G. Keesengr, K.S. Dhindsa, Paramjit Judge, Darshan Tatla, Bhagat Singh, Sangat Singh, Surjit Kaur, Gurmukh Singh, Narpal Singh Shergill, N.G. Barrier, Van Dusenbery, Pashaura Singh, Pritam Singh Thandi, Shinder Singh, Arthur Wesley Helweg, Archana B. Verma and Joyce Pettigrew's etc. have conducted studies on Punjabis abroad in various contexts.

The Punjabi diaspora's response to the philanthropic project is more constructive and pro-active. It has taken various philanthropic initiatives for the overall development of the Punjab. The philanthropic initiatives of the Punjabi Diaspora are quite visible in rural areas. Though it is not possible to mention all the initiatives taken by Punjabi diaspora for the upliftment of Punjab because of its vast scope, yet it is essential to mention some major projects established by them.

N.R.I. Sabha, Punjab has given the details of overseas Punjabis' contribution to the development projects in Punjab based on the survey of four districts of Doaba region as under :-

*Darshan Singh Tatla 'Sikh Diaspora', in Melvin Ember, Carol Ember and Lankoggard (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Diaspora : Immigrant and Refuge Cultures Around the World*, Vol. I & II, Klumer Academic Telenum, New York.

Sr. No.	Name of District	Name of Block	No. of Villages Surveyed	Total Amount
1.	Hoshiarpur	Block I	155	11,04,99,500
2.	Hoshiarpur	Tanda	101	11,30,86,000
3.	Hoshiarpur	Block III	101	40,68,22,000
4.	SBS Nagar	Aur	74	83,74,46,000
5.	Kapurthala	Phagwara	75	21,17,42,000
6.	Kapurthala	Kapurthala, Sultanpur, Bhullath	33	32,26,33,000
7.	Jalandhar	Jalandhar-2	39	6,08,87,000
Total			477	2,06,14,17,500

The Punjabi Diaspora has taken various philanthropic initiatives for the overall development of the Punjab. The philanthropic initiative of Punjabi Diaspora is quite visible in rural areas. In the countryside and towns particularly in the Doaba Region of Punjab, the Philanthropic initiative of Punjabi Diaspora is quite visible.

The main areas of the Diasporan philanthropy are religion, education, health, sports and infrastructure. It is essential to mention the big projects established by the Punjabis. The important projects and facilities sponsored/financed by Punjabi Diaspora in Punjab are as under :

Medical Projects/Facilities

The project of Guru Nanak Mission Medical and Educational Trust : Dhahan Kaleran falls in District Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar formerly District Nawanshahr. It is located between Phagwara and Nawanshahr. The Trust was established in 1979 with the inspiration of the founder S. Budh Singh Dhahan, supported by 24 Trustees who include local dignitaries, prominent personalities belonging to different religious groups in Canada, UK and USA. The main objective of the Trust is to provide high quality, low cost health care to the rural population of this region as well as to educate the under privileged children and the youth of the area under the aegis of Trust. The institutions and projects being managed by the Trust are Guru Nanak Mission Hospital, Nursing College, Public Senior Secondary School, Drug De-addiction Centre, Satellite Clinic and Primary Health Care projects in 60 villages. It has modern facilities and infrastructure. The total expenditure on this project is about Rs. 45 Crores in addition to the price of land donated by the masses. The Trust has further future purposed projects which are mentioned below:

Table 1. Guru Nanak Mission Hospital: Proposed Projects

Sr. No.	The Project	Estimated Cost
1.	Modern operation Theatre	Rs. 20 Lakhs
2.	Emergency ICU and development of Trauma Centre	Rs. 3 Crores
3.	Outdoor patient department and laboratory	Rs. 2 Crores
4.	X-Ray Plant	Rs. 8 Lakhs
5.	MRI Machine	Rs. 5 Crores
6.	Purchase of additional 30 acres of land to accomodate the expansive to a medical college.	Rs. 3 Crores
7.	Residential accommodation for medical and paramedical staff.	Rs. 1 Crores
8.	Construction of Hostel for Students of Sr. Sec. School	Rs. 1 Crores
9.	Endowment fund to support major additions and Renovations and sustain the institutions.	Rs. 50 Crore
10.	Auditorium for Senior Secondary School	Rs. 85 Lakhs

The estimated expenditure on those projects will be about 66 Crores and 13 Lakhs. The establishment of Medical University is also part of future planning of the trust.¹

The General Hospital of Bilga falls in Tehsil Phillaur, District Jalandhar and is 18 km. away from Phillaur. This project has been initiated by Dr. Jagjit Singh Sanghera, England based NRI. The Hospital was established in April 2005, with the aim of providing ultra modern health facilities to the rural masses. The estimated expenditure incurred on this project was about Rs. 10 crores. This project has about 220 donors abroad. The Hospital is also regarded as sister organization of A.S.S.M. College Mukandpur. Dr. Jagjit Singh Sanghera, founder of this hospital has also donated liberally to A.S.S.M. College, Mukandpur. The Chairman of this college S. Gurcharan Singh Shergill has also donated Rs. 35 Lakhs to this hospital and he has also been donating his time and energy for the development of this project.²

Kapoor Singh Canadian Hospital, Aur, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar, has been set up by two overseas Punjabi sisters Baldish Kaur and Jagdish Kaur, in the revered memory of their father

1. Information was provided by Dr. Gurdev Singh Gill during the researcher's visit to this village on March 31, 2006.
2. Information was provided by some members of Anant Paul Singh's family during the researcher's visit to Barhampur, on December 28, 2007.

with the initial investment of 10 crore rupees. It also has 100 beds facility to admit the patients in the hospital.³ This hospital was opened in Oct. 1959 with the help of NRI's but now it has achieved success in rural areas.⁴

Guru Nanak Mission Hospital, Jalandhar has been receiving substantial amount of overseas donation for upgrading its services and infrastructure.

There are many hospitals/medical facilities financed by the Punjabi diaspora in the countryside Punjab. These are as follows :

- Overseas Punjabis has set up air-conditioned mortuary at Mulewal Khaira Village, near Nakodar, to keep the bodies of their relatives till their arrival from abroad to perform their last rites.⁵
- A similar mortuary has also been set up in the village Ganeshpur Bhatla, Mahilpur, Dist. Hoshiarpur, costing about Rs. 9 lacs.⁶
- Punjabi Diaspora has initiated to establish a multifacility hospital in the village Shamsabad, near Nurmehal costing billion of rupees.⁷
- Raja Sahib Hospital has also been set up by the Punjabis abroad in village Repha, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar costing about one crore rupees.⁸
- Bhagat Hari Singh Charitable Hospital in village Dadial, Hoshiarpur has also been set up by its overseas residents with the investment of 2.5 crore rupees. It has 175 beds facility to admit patients.⁹
- Sant Sarwan Das Hospital has been established in Kathar, Hoshiarpur by Punjabi diaspora with the investment of two crore rupees.¹⁰
- Kala Sanghian Charitable Hospital established in the memory of Baba Kan Singh Ji has also received about 2.5 crore donation from the Punjabi diaspora. It has about 250 beds facility for admitting patients in the hospital.¹¹
- Nabh Kanwal Rara Sahib Hospital, Gunachaur, Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar, has also received donation of about 2.5 crore rupees from Punjabi diaspora.¹²
- A hospital of 125 beds has been established by the Punjabis abroad, in village Kalra, Hoshiarpur, costing of Rs. 3 Crore.¹³

3. Information was discussed by Baba Budh Singh, Chairman, Guru Nanak Mission Medical and Education Trust, on March 31, 2006 during researcher's visit to this project.

4. Information is based on interview with Gurcharan Singh Shergill, Managing Director, General Hospital Bilga, on March 28, 2006.

5. Information was provided by the relatives of Kapoor family during researcher's visit to this hospital on January 08, 2006.

6. Information provided by the members of Sidhu family during researcher's visit to this hospital on January 08, 2006.

7. Information was provided by the village Panchayat on December 20, 2008.

8. *The Tribune* (Newspaper), October 10, 2003.

9. Information was received from village Sarpanch, Shamshabad on April 20, 2009.

10. Information was provided by Surinder Singh Dhindsa, a NRI from Repha village, in an interview on March 01, 2006.

11. *Des Sewak* (Newspaper) September 19, 2004.

12. *Des Sewak* (Newspaper) September 19, 2004.

13. *Des Sewak* (Newspaper) September 19, 2004.

- Guru Nanak Dev Ji Charitable Hospital Pasla, Jalandhar having the facility of 100 beds, has been set up with the help of 3 crore rupees donation by the Punjabi diaspora.¹⁴
- Guru Arjan Dev Charitable Hospital was inaugurated on May 24, 2006 by Sewa Singh Badyal, President overseas Congress. The estimated initial expenditure on this hospital would be 10 crores.¹⁵
- Shri Maan 108 Sant Onkar Singh Ji Memorial Charitable Hospital, Village Mehtpur, Oladini, S.B.S. Nagar. This hospital has the facilities such as Multi-slice spiral CT machine; Colour Doppler Ultra sound; 300m A X-Ray machine; Computerized lab, ECG; Indoor and outdoor, 50 beds; General, laproscopic and TURP-Surgeries; Maternity home; Non cardiac colour Doppler Studio; Echo cardiography; Fully equipped operation theatres.¹⁶

Educational Projects/Facilities

Amardeep Singh Shergil Memorial College, Mukandpur (SBS Nagar) was established in 1994 in the memory of Amardeep Singh Shergill, an illustrious student of London School of Economics who passed away in the prime of his youth.

The college campus sprawls over 21.5 acres with architecture that merge with landscape. With nearly 870 students on rolls, the college offers courses up to graduate level in B.A., B.C.A., B.Com. & B.Sc. (Medical, Non-Medical, Computer Science, Economics, Vocational courses etc.) Post-Graduation in Economics, M.Sc.(IT), M.C.A., M.B.A., P.G. Diploma in Financial Services (Banking & Insurance), P.G. Diploma in Dress Designing & Tailoring, B.Tech (Electronics), B.Tech. (Computers), B.Tech (IT) in under project. The estimated expenditure on this project is about Rs. 20 Crores. This project has about 126 overseas donors.¹⁷ Now it has been taken over by G.N.D.U. Amritsar as its constituent college.

The D.A.V. Rural Public School in 1988 was established by S. Sadhu Singh Shergill, Vice Chairman, and A.S.S.M. College Mukandpur Trust, with the help of Punjabis abroad. This school is catering educational needs of about 20 surrounding villages¹⁸. It has mobilized above Rs. 1 crore as overseas donation.

Another NRI School has been opened in Kultham in Distt. SBS Nagar by Tara Singh Bains. After his retirement in Canada, he and his wife did a good job to fulfill the mission. The school now has about 400 students from Kultham and

14. Information was obtained from village Panchayat during visit to this hospital on December 22, 2008.

15. Information was received from the members of medical staff of this hospital on August 16, 2006.

16. Information regarding this project was provided by the medical staff of this hospital on November 28, 2008.

17. *Ajit* (Newspaper), May 25, 2006.

18. Information is based on personal observation of this researcher during the personal visit on July 08, 2008.

surrounding villages who arrive by buses¹⁹.

Kirpal Sagar Trust is a multiple project near Rahon in District SBS Nagar, which includes education, religious institutions and hospital. It has been receiving substantial amount of donation from overseas Punjabis.

Prof. Karmjit Singh Rai, a U.S. based Sikh has set up S. Jaswant Singh Rai Education Trust in 1999. Its philanthropic projects in Punjab are :

Mata Tej Kaur Rai Memorial Hall, Moranwali, Hoshiarpur
Layallpur Khalsa College, Jalandhar

- S. Jawant Singh Rai Medical Centre
- Mata Tej Kaur Rai Postgraduate Library
- Mata Tej Kaur Rai Science Block
- S. Jaswant Singh Rai Scholarship in Physiotherapy
- Mata Basant Kaur Rai Scholarship in Computer Science
- Mata Tej Kaur Rai Scholarship in Basic Sciences
- Mata Tej Kaur Rai Visiting Lectureship in Science, Society and Values.

Sri Guru Granth Sahib Research Centre²⁰.

Prof. Nanak Singh Kohli, U.S. based Punjabi has set up Surinder Amar Sheel Charitable Trust to help the poor people in India. He has set up 40 creches for poor girls in Delhi with the investment of 50 lac rupees. He also established Balwari (creche) and computer centres in the three villages of Punjab i.e. Gharuan, Landran and Mahadian. He has planned to invest about 5 crore rupees in these type of philanthropic projects in Punjab to help poor girl children²¹.

- Guru Nanak National College, Nakodar and Guru Nanak National College for Women, Nakodar and K.R.M. D.A.V. College, Nakodar have so far received about Rs. 40 lac donation from overseas²².
- Guru Nanak Khalsa College for Women, Sang Dhesian has received about Rs. 10 lac donation from overseas²³.
- Sikh National College, Quadian (Gurdaspur) mobilized Rs. 8 lac donation from overseas²⁴.
- Akal Academy, Bilga has also been receiving handsome overseas donation.²⁵
- P.T.M. Arya Mahila College, Nurmahal has received about Rs. 15 lac donation from overseas.²⁶

19. The researcher herself is serving in this institution. Information was obtained from official sources and Dr. Amarjit Singh, Secretary, A.S.S.M. College Trust.

20. Information was received from S. Sadhu Singh; founder Chairman of this school, on October 30, 2007.

21. Information was provided by the Principal of this School on March 20, 2006.

22. Information was revealed by Prof. Karamjit Singh Rai in a conference on 'Punjabi diasporan philanthropy in Punjab' held on March 30-31, 2006.

23. *The Tribune* (Newspaper), November 21, 2004.

24. This estimate of donation from the overseas is based on researcher's personal observation and discussion with the Principals of these colleges and members of staff on April 21, 2008.

25. Information was provided by some members of faculty of this college on April 21, 2008.

26. Information was provided by Lakhbir Singh Riar, Principal Sikh National College, Quadian on November 25, 2007.

- Punjabi diaspora spent about one crore rupees for construction of sports complex in Babar Akali Khalsa College, Gharhshankar, Dist. Hoshiarpur²⁷.
- Sikh National College Banga, Distt. Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar (formerly called Nawanshahr) has mobilized its overseas alumniees to invest about 3 crore of rupees for construction of its new building²⁸.
- Jaswant Singh has set up Anant Memorial Charitable Trust (Regd.) in 1990 with initial investment of 1,80,000/- U.S. dollars to provide bookmobile library services in district Ludhiana.²⁹
- Dr. Raspal Singh Aujala, U.S. based Sikh donated Rs. 92 lac to Punjabi University, Patiala for construction of the building of Kala Bhawan (Art Centre).³⁰
- A computer centre has been established by overseas Punjabis, in the village Handaya near Barnala to provide computer education to its residents.³¹
- Shri Guru Har Rai Sahib College for women, Chebbewal, Hoshiarpur, has received about Rs. 50 lac donation from Canada based Sikhs for construction of its library.³²
- D.A.V. College, Dasua has got Rs. 5 lac donation by the overseas Punjabis for construction of 'Science Block'³³.
- England based Punjabi Mota Singh Sarai, with the help of his friends, has spent about Rs. 6 crore for the promotion of Punjabi language and culture. The major part of his donation is being spent on the publication and free distribution of the Punjabi Literature³⁴. Police administration took help of Kewal Singh Khatkar, Chairman Indian Overseas Congress, UK to donate Rs. 37000/- (Thirty seven thousand rupees) to construct boundary wall of Police Station, Banga, District Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar.³⁵
- Government school in the village Bath near Nurmehal is being improved by its overseas villagers.³⁶
- Village Soondh, district Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar has got Rs. 7 crore overseas investment for setting up Budh Resource Centre to provide technical training to its youth³⁷.
- A historic village 'Guru Ki Dhab' in Mukatsar district is being initiated by US based Sikh Dr. Amarjit Singh Marwah, to be modernized on the pattern

27. Information was received from the members of village Panchayat, Bilga on December 18, 2007.

28. The source of information is college prospectus and family members.

29. *Punjabi Tribune* (Newspaper), March 05, 2009.

30. *Ajit* (Newspaper), Feb. 18, 2007.

31. Information was disclosed by Dr. Jaswant Singh on March 30, 2006.

32. *Punjabi Tribune* (Newspaper), December 03, 2007.

33. Information is based on this researcher's personal visit to this village on Feb. 22, 2006.

34. *Ajit* (Newspaper), September 02, 2007.

35. *Punjabi Tribune* (Newspaper), December 26, 2005.

36. Mota Singh Sarai, interviewed on July 7, 2008.

37. *Punjabi Tribune* (Newspaper), December 18, 2007.

of village 'Khauradi'³⁸.

A Trust, by the name of 'Satinder Kaur Ramdev Memorial Trust for Advancement of Librarianship (acronym SATKAL)' was founded with its headquarter in the Panjab University Library, Chandigarh in April, 2000, by Mr. Jaginder Singh Ramdev.

As the overall objective of the Trust is 'Advancement of Librarianship', the various activities undertaken to achieve this objective are as follow :

- Promoting research and librarianship by giving scholarships/fellowships/ stipends to deserving students and in service library professionals.
- Launching/sponsoring/publishing/distributing library related literature.
- Instituting awards e.g. Punjab Librarian Award, Young Librarian Award, Woman Librarian Award, and School Librarian Award.
- Organizing Library competitions, including Dr. Ranganathan Quiz.
- Organizing annual lectures, library related seminars, training programmes and workshops.
- Providing financial assistance to needy retired librarians/their dependents.
- Undertaking, promoting and sponsoring any and all such activities, which sustain and develop Librarianship³⁹.

Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee has been mobilizing overseas donation for building up the memorial of the Ghadar Movement. It has established a big Ghadarites Memorial Hall, also known as Desh Bhagat Yadgar Hall, Jalandhar. Around 1 crore rupees overseas donation has been spent for building up of this memorial.⁴⁰

Sports

In the field of Sports the two major projects need special mention. One organized in the village Parasrampur, about 6 kilometer from Jalandhar, has been spending Rs. 2 crore every year for the last 10 year on organizing rural games and sponsoring various championships in the state. S. Harjinder Singh Dhanoa, NRI holds games twice a year, known as Mini Olympics and Mata Chanan Kaur Dhanoa Punjab Championship⁴¹.

The other project in the field of sports is S. Harbans Singh Purewal "*Pendu Khed Mela*" in village Hakimpur, District Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar. The Harbans Singh Purewal family is settled in Canada since 1970 and is one of the leading farmers of blue berry in North America. The prime motive of this festival is to promote health and sports awareness among the rural youth and to save them from drug addiction. The annual expenditure on this sports competition is about

38. Information was shared by the members of village Panchayat. The overseas of Bath villagers have spent about 40 lac rupees for the improvement of the building of Government School in the village.

39. *Ajit* (Newspaper), September 02, 2007.

40. *The Tribune* (Newspaper), March 15, 2009.

41. SATKAL (Satinder Kaur Ramdev Memorial Trust) for advancement of librarianship: Pamphlet 2009.

Rs. 30 Lakhs. The family has also been donating money to the education, religious institutions and sports competitions, besides helping the needy people. The family is also promoting sports activities in Canada.⁴²

Punjabi diaspora has established an ultra modern sports complex for Lawn Tennis in village Jasowal Kaler, in district Ludhiana to develop Lawn Tennis players in the countryside. The Lawn Tennis players of international repute frequently visit this academy to train young sportsmen.⁴³

Satinder Bajwa, former Squash Coach in the Harvard University, USA has setup Squash Academy at Chandigarh for providing free coaching to the young players.

Badminton Academy, Mukandpur, District Shahid Bhagat Singh Nagar, is functioning under the chairmanship of UK based Mr. Jagtar Singh Shokar. It is providing training to children in Badminton. It organizes annual state level competition. Some of its players have participated in the Punjab State level as well as National Level competitions.⁴⁴

Village Kharoudi and Barhampur Projects : A Model for Village Development

The overseas Punjabis has also tried to develop the villages of their origin as model village. The village Kharoudi has been adopted to develop as a model village of Punjab.

The village Kharoudi is located on Phagwara-Behram-Mahilpur Road. It falls in district Hoshiarpur. This village is also known as Ghadarites village. About 9 Ghadarites hailed from this village. The village Kharoudi has a population of 700 persons in 150 households. The village has a large number of NRI population. The leadership and initial funds for the development of this village came from the Chairman Dr. Raghbir Singh Bassi (USA) who is president of Indo Canadian Friendship Society of British Columbia, Canada and former Vice Chancellor of Alaska University of America and Vice Chairman Dr. Gurdev Singh Gill (Canada), who belong to this village. Dr. Gill is a retired physician turned engineer with keen interest in public health. The village Kharoudi now boasts of underground sewerage, common flush toilets, concrete paved streets, primary school and Gurudwara. Solar street light, a new cementery, internet kiosks and ultra modern Panchayat Ghar with residential facilities are the other high-lights. Now Kharoudi is the model for the project and an emigrant from Kharoudi Dr. Gurdev Singh Gill is the person who initiated the effort. In this way the project has extended itself from Kharoudi to other villages, beginning with Barhampur, Dingrian, Chaheru. The Dingrian & Chaheru are the paternal and maternal villages of a former Canadian Cabinet Minister, Herb Dhaliwal, who has joined Dr. Gill in advancing the multi-village plan. Dr. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam, honorable President of India, took keen

42. Information was received from Secretary, Desh Bhagat Yadgar Committee, Jalandhar on September 1, 2009.

43. Information was disclosed by Harjinder Singh Dhanoa in the press on Feb. 9, 2006.

44. Information is based on the interview with Gurjit Singh Purewal on Feb. 20, 2006.

interest in visiting this village on 23 March 2003. The Details of this project are as under⁴⁵ :

Sewerage and Sanitation Project : Khaurodi

Sr. No.	Project	Expenditure
1.	Sewerage	Rs. 13.77 Lakhs
2.	Water Supply	Rs. 1.01 Lakhs
3.	Cement Concrete	Rs. 12.47 Lakhs
4.	Solar Light System (32 lights)	Rs. 3.67 Lakhs
5.	Solar Pump (Two)	Rs. 1.96 Lakhs
6.	Sand Filter	Rs. 4.21 Lakhs
7.	Fish Tank	Rs. 5.96 Lakhs
8.	Park	Rs. 4.50 Lakhs
9.	Repair	Rs. 10.00 Lakhs
	Total	Rs. 57.55 Lakhs

Village Barhampur, District Ludhiana has a population of 2450 persons living in 370 houses. The leadership and funds for this village were provided by S. Anand Paul Singh, NRI of this village. The Indo-Canadian Friendship Society of BC Canada, collected funds from NRIs and CIDA (Canada International Development Agency). It has been provided with following facilities :

Drinking water supply, Underground sewerage system, Waste water treatment plant, Street lighting, Concrete paved streets in and around the village, Computer education in the village school, Plantation of trees in and around the village, Boundry wall around village *phirni* to separate dthers from the road to ensure sanitation.⁴⁶

The above description reveals that the Punjabi diaspora after having been got established in the social, economic and political mainstreams of the host countries, has also been showing keen concerns for overall development of their motherlands by sponsoring and financing philanthropic projects. The areas of their philanthropic activities is mainly confined to their places of origin mainly in the Doaba region of Punjab. Their establishment in the host countries, translicing Punjabi identity and linkages with Punjab has added a new dimension to the contemporary history of Punjab.

45. Information is based on the personal visit of this researcher to this village and discussion held with some players and instructors on January 30, 2009.

46. Information was provided by Rajinder Singh Gill, instructor and secretary of Bedminton Academy, Mukandpur.

SOUTH ASIAN STUDIES IN INDIA, ENGLAND AND U.S.A

*Nazer Singh**

The years between 1772 and 1835 witnessed a number of changes occurring in the sub-continent of India conquered and governed by Warren Hastings (1772-86) and William Bentinck (1828-35). In addition to British military success this era was marked by the East India Company's cultural and educational policies and their impact upon Religion, Language and Nationality. In order to consolidate the Administration in India Hastings established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784.¹ Himself proficient in Urdu, Bengali and Persian languages he knew that the quickest route to the heart of people was through the language of the country. The Asiatic Society produced a galaxy of scholars like its first president William Jones, H.T. Colebrook and H.H. Wilson. Together with Sriampore Mission under William Carey the Society gave birth to the Bengal Renaissance.² The Renaissance was largely the work of William Jones (1746-1794), Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) and W. Carey (1761-1834). Jones' Study of Sanskrit produced 'the phenomenal discovery of the Aryan Golden Age'. Rammohan Roy turned out to be 'the progenitor of all modern reform movements in India'. Carey created modern Bengali prose.³ This discovery and glorification of Sanskrit as if it was a family member of Indo-European languages including Latin and Greek attracted the European scholars for its classical literature. For fifty years the *Society* remained a centre for learning and research based upon the British belief that there was one religion in India called Hinduism.⁴ Moreover it had sacred texts too.

The interest of the United States of America in Indian sub-continent has been manifested since the birth of that nation during the end of 18th century i.e. after 1776 A.D. The American War of Independence (1776) was followed by the links for trade with the British Calcutta by the ships embarking from New England for the sea ports of Bengal. We know that the East India Company administration had discouraged the movements and activities of Christian Missions in India upto 1813. In order to remove these restrictions a number of Missionaries were used to reach New World or New England so that they could embark the American ships

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1. Nazer Singh, *Undivided India*, Orientalism and Society (1865-1919), Commonwealth, New Delhi, 2013, pp. 201-02.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-03.
3. Bruce Carlisle Robertson, *Raja Rammohan Roy, The Father of Modern India*, Oxford Delhi, 1995, pp. 23, 30, 33-36, 40-41, 58,66.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-54.

for Calcutta to propagate their Evangelical message through their newly founded Protestant Missions. As a result of these movements, the Christian members of the Unitarian Church in India brought to New England the works of Ram Mohan Roy. We know that he was born and brought up by a family that had served the Mughals since Aurangzeb era. Apart from Sanskrit he knew Arabic and Persian languages. Rammohan Roy did visit to Tibet to understand Buddhism and to Patna, Dacca and Murishdabad to study Islam. While in Calcutta he learnt English and was in touch with the ideas, literature and press of Baptist Mission of Sriampore under Carey (1793-1834). His English-language tutor in Calcutta was Sanford Arnot. In spite of broad-learning and rich experience Roy continued to study the *vedant* literature and philosophy. His growing world wide reputation became further visible in 1880 when he renewed his family's service to the House of Timur by presenting the case of Akbar the second for an increase in his pension before the Court of Directors of the East India Company. It was the Mughal king, Akbar II who had given him the title of Raja, though it wasn't recognized by the British government. While in London (1830-31) he was appreciated by the British Press and the Utilitarian Thinkers. By the summer of 1832 Rammohan Roy left London to reach France. However, his health deteriorated to illness in France and he died in the care of Unitarian friends in Bristol, on September 27, 1833. *The Times*, London reported his death on September 30.

Life and achievements of Rammohan Roy did attract the attention of M.K. Gandhi, and he had been a subject of study and research by the American scholars too. One of these scholars did his Ph.D. work in 1983 entitled as *Raja Rammohan Roy The Father of Modern India*. This thesis refers to the Brahma Samaj also and it has praised him for his social and political actions.⁵ Significantly Gandhi had a double mind about Roy. He compared him to the saints like Chaitanya, Sankar, Kabir and Guru Nanak but found him as well B.G. Tilak as if these two were merely pigmies due to the failure of their respective organizations.

We can't leave Gandhi so suddenly. He was also associated with England as well as South Africa. The African background of his life can be understood by keeping in mind the Unitarian activities in New England. The Unitarians were engaged in philosophical and literary movement known as 'transcendentalism'. By this movement there did emerge two political thinkers namely Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), and Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). These thinkers had their impact upon America and British India through M.K. Gandhi. Thoreau had made or presented America as if it ought to be a mixture of different cultures and religions. His metaphor for this was a 'melting pot'. We know that Gandhi wrote his first political manifesto for freedom of India in 1909, and it was entitled as *Hind Swaraj*. This manifesto did preach the Gandhian concept of non-violence. Further, he had launched his Civil Disobedience Resistance to the British in South Africa Himself.

5. Bruce C. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 9; See also 'Remaking the Indian Historian's Craft', in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Feb. 2013, Vol. XLVIII, No. 7, pp. 60-68, 'Attempts at appropriation', in *Frontline*, Feb. 8, 2013, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 19-23.

The Civil Disobedience was a work of Thoreau that Gandhi had read in 1908 while he was in the African prison. Impressed by Disobedience Martin Luther King had also adopted it in Europe to fight for the Civil Rights Movement against racism (1950-1960). How have the people and cultures circulate through translations and circulations can be seen by studying the relationships between South Asia and North America. We are told that the years from 1860 to 1914 saw tremendous research and publications about India, China and Islamic world. 95% of this research work took place in following five countries :

1. France
2. Great Britain
3. Germany
4. Italy
5. U.S.A.

All these five western countries treated the non-western countries as a world that was only an 'object' of study. The exception was that when the non-western category was seen through development from pre-modernity to the civilized state only then it became a 'subject'.

After 1945 the American or U.S.A. cognitive construction of Asia was due to the following causes :

1. After the end of Second World War, there were Protestant Missionaries working against Japan.
2. There were in China and India *Peace Corps* working for their economic take off so that the people could be saved from communist epidemic.
3. In order to be successful in cold war the U.S.A. must contain the U.S.S.R and the rise of Socialism by her foreign policy.

In the post Second World War era there was founded the American Institute of Indian Studies in 1961. The institute had a multidisciplinary project that worked for a long time under the Sanskritist W. Norman Brown. Under him there began the scheme of *Areas Studies*. This research model in case of India was financed by the debt of India realized under P.L. or Public Law 480 technique. The Indian classical literature had been under study programme upto 1939 but it reflected after 1961 the Geo-political representations of the world. It was aimed at producing a lot of liberal citizens. To secure it stress was to be on the need of having a new general education. This education was based upon the economics, government, sociology, history, arts of Russia, China, India and Latin America.

After 1947-48 the University of Pennsylvania organised a summer course in Indian Studies.⁶ In 1948 this University founded its Department of South Asian Regional Studies. This Department was funded by the powerful Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. Headed by W.Norman Brown the department associated with itself the following scholars :

6. 'The Understanding of Freedom in Hindutva' by Manjari Katju, in, *Social Scientist*, Vol. 39, Nos. 3-4, March-April, 2011, pp. 3-22.

- i) Holden Furber, a Historian
- ii) Daniel Thorner, an Economist
- iii) Dorothy Spencer, an Anthropologist.

Factually speaking this department was capable of providing Bachelor's as well as Ph.D. degrees in geography, linguistics, Hindustani language, history, sociology, anthropology and economics. In this way it was an effort to promote a combination of Classical Indology and Social Sciences. South Asian studies subsequently developed at Berkeley, Michigan, Chicago, Columbia and Wisconsin.⁷ Our discussion about Asian Studies in India, England, Germany, France and the United States will be incomplete till we refer to 'Hindu Spirituality' doctrine expounded by the founder of the Ram Krishan Mission, Vivekananda (1863-1902). This 'monk of India' was an English educated man who did attend the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. He was there as a representative of *Brahmo Sannyasins*. He explained *Vedanta* and yoga before this World Parliament. About him and legacy Jackie Assayag writes :⁸

"The activities of gifted Indian intellectuals like Vivekananda outside of India have played a crucial role in the formulation of Orientalism and Hindu nationalism."

Obviously the term Hindu nationalism should lead us to Hindutava of V.D. Savarkar (1909, 1923) and R.S.S. or Vishva Hindu Prishad after him.

7. See Jackie Assayag and Veronique, *Remapping Knowledge, The Making of South Asian Studies in India, Europe and America (19th-20th Centuries)* Indian Edition, New Delhi, 2005, p. 21.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-21.

RECONSTRUCTING GENDER IN PUNJABI LITERATURE

*Amrit Varsha Gandhi**

Socio-religious reformation during the 19th century India largely concentrated on the position of the women and ensued debate on the social issues that were regarded oppressive for them. Colonial administrators initiated legislations to ameliorate the social anomalies and the debates in the process exposed the stand held by the Indian reformers on the position of the women in India. The debates of the two extremes—the liberal and the reactionaries—provided greater content to articulate more specific demands in the period to follow. Nineteenth century partially and inertly drew women to react and express views on their subjugation. Except for their writings in different regions they remained almost invisible till they participated in the national movement in the first quarter of the twentieth century. With the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian scene and initiation of the mass movements women began to be more visible and came to be associated with his goal to transform political and social scene. Gandhi considered them as equal partners in the ensuing struggle and women participated either by their presence in the movements, or by managing the home fronts in the absence of male members, and finally by sharing and communicating ideas through their writings. Beginning of the mass movements of Gandhi are deeply associated with the political developments in Punjab and the year 1919 can be specifically mentioned for the Rowlatt Bills, the Martial law and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre. Initiation of Gandhi and the events at Punjab adequately infused women in the region to come out of their homes and be the visible partners in the movements to follow. The participation of women in the mass movements thus strengthened the pace of the national movement in Punjab and the literary writings by sharing and communicating ideas, enriched the Punjabi Literature. Literary writings in India during the 19th and the 20th centuries not only provided content to make demands more specific but portrayed an awakened women who was ready to wage a struggle for their own rights for self-development and growth and shatter the shackles of traditional conventions tied around her. The increasing awareness in context of the participation in the national movement subtly moved towards the growth of the women's liberation movement in the post independent India.

Punjabi Literature during the struggle for independence has immensely contributed to understand the position of women by portraying her different from the perspective of a woman imaged in the 19th century. The emphasis is not

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simply to draw attention to the deprivations she is accustomed to but to equate her in relation to man in social issues.

The paper is an attempt to advance the hypothesis that wider exchange of ideas and communication in relation to national or international issues over a period of time leads to a change in the society. With specific reference to India during the period of nationalist struggle, interconnectedness, diffusion of ideas and promises of norms of equality generated new awakening and more opportunities and resources to people to which the British reacted in a repressive way.¹ This has been viewed immensely without a gendered approach. It was accepted that Indians raised their voice against the colonial regime and questioned many deprivations and discriminations in socio-economic and political life. In the process they questioned the existing anomalies in their own society and raised many socio-religious reform movements. Dominating issue in such movements was the expressed urge for improving the condition of the Indian women which continued to be emphasised since the nineteenth century and made huge promises by the time India succeeded in its mission to achieve freedom from the British yoke. It is more significant to note that despite the resistance to such notions, gradual lethargy to fulfil the promises so made, the few women kept the spirit alive to fulfil the promises and the struggle has lived on.

Punjabi literature with reference to women is thus rooted in nationalist understanding of women's question as well as it addresses the issues that confronted the self and the identity of a woman with a gender approach without separating it in relation to a man. Women-centred texts, espousing feminism mark the beginning of scholarship on women that placed women and gender questions at the centre of the analysis and interrogated the individual of a woman in new ways.

In the present paper I have focused on the presence and participation of women in the struggle of independence through instrumentality of sharing and communicating ideas. This added a new dimension to the history writing as the writings during the period analysed continuance of the conventional practices that constrained women in the movement for their emancipation. It is significant to note that while their physical presence in the organised movements gave visibility and strength to the nationalist struggle it also gave them an identity to participate in future activities, and awakened them for a struggle for their own rights. A reinterpretation of some of the writings can help us to draw a new meaning and provide better answers to questions that remain unresolved.

Amrita Pritam² an unparalleled name in Punjabi literature known not only in every home of Punjab, but India and across boundaries is the focus for the study.

1. History of the repressive measures of the British against independent press (Vernacular Press Act, 1878) and the ban on Indian writings reflect British reaction .
2. Amrita Pritam ; a Punjabi poetess, and a novelist ; b.31August 1919 at Gujranwala (now in Pakistan); married Pritam Singh, 1935; member, Rajya Sabha, 1986-1992; first woman recipient of Sahitya Akademi award for *Sunehe*, 1956, besides awarded, Padma Shri, 1969, Bhartiya Janpith, 1982, Padma Bhushan, 2004,; bestowed honorary doctoral degrees, University of Delhi, 1973, Jadavpur, 1973 and Viswa Bharati, 1983; d.31October 2005.

The attempt is to view her writings on social issues that confronted the region specific but portrayed the larger image of the society. The portrayal of a woman in her writings profess high ideals of marriage and motherhood as well as the intimate desire of a woman to be treated as individuals in their own rights with full potentialities for self-development.³ This was much closer to the views of Gandhi on the status of the Indian women and later voiced by the women's liberation movement. Dealing with social issues like female infanticide, son preference,⁴ early marriage, *pardah*, dowry, incest relationship⁵ and violence⁶ that confronted the inner self of every woman she also became a part of the progressive literary Writer's movement and vociferously reflected on the war torn economy⁷. By being a witness to the devastating effect of economy during the second world war she understood the impact of the Bengal Famine of 1943. It later reinforced the understanding in her to enunciate that "the talk of love and beauty is talk of the times and idle people".⁸

Amrita began to write when nationalists were struggling to transform the political as well as the social scene.⁹ Her literary career (*Amrit Lehrin*, 1936) with the rendering theme on the condition of the women started at a time when Indians revoked western writings like *Mother India*¹⁰ by giving a befitting and an explicit reply by A.S. Altekar¹¹ in 1937. Without adhering to either of the two extremes Amrita covered a wider range of issues in a broad category of caste, colour, class, religion and gender to reflect a holistic position. She intrigued every

3. "Guliyana ka ek khat", is a story of a young woman who professes simple desires of life with notion of sensitivity and desires a wider space to grow. See *Amrita Pritam ki Shresht Kahanian*, Rajpal & Sons, Delhi, 1966, pp.20-27.
4. "Chhamak Chhalo", in *Amrita Pritam ki Shresht Kahanian*, *Ibid.* pp.34-44 reflects not only the practice of the second marriage of the widower in a Punjabi household but also the desire for a male child is common to both the parents.
5. "Karmavali", is the reaction of a woman who finds her man involved in a relationship with another woman in his relation. The event of marriage so much pains her that she is ready to share it with no anonymity and opt for a life with small earning and occupation. *Ibid.* pp.28-33.
6. *Pinjar* (1950) was one of her masterpiece work and an expression of her anguish over the massacres witnessed in Punjab during the partition of India. An award winning film based on this novel was made in 2003..
7. *Lok Peed* (1943) was a clear departure from Punjabi folk to progressive themes.
8. Besides published stories and poems of Amrita Pritam, private papers at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi containing some of her letters to her friend Avtaar are important to know more about the writer. The collection of stories and poems in Punjabi include: Purva Janam ki Kashish, Mere Sapne, Sheikh Abdullah de do Sapne, Nadir Shah de do Sapne, Vairaag, Chup di Saazish, Meri Katha, Shakti leela, Ek Soch etc.
9. Jawaharlal Nehru was trying to bring home the idea that political independence has no meaning unless it is accompanied by general improvement of the people. His presidential addresses at Lucknow and Faizpur sessions of the Indian National Congress have much to reflect on the idea.
10. Katherine Mayo, *Mother India*, (1927) portraying a dismal picture of the Indian women, was described as a Drain Inspector's Report by Mahatma Gandhi.
11. A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, Motilal Banarasi Das, Delhi, 1962.

Punjabi home, both rural and urban to analyse these categories with a gender perspective. This seems more radical in context of understanding the position of the women in Indian society. She has portrayed women distinct from the 19th century stereotype framework of personifying womanhood and motherhood images of suffering and hardship and goes far ahead of her times. Her emphasis is not simply to draw attention to the deprived position of a woman but to equate her in relation to man in social issues and shows the capability in her to defy with a rebellious spirit. Amrita carries no tags of social bickering and burden of moral judgements and reflects on feminist agony under the cover of her 'own- self' reflected later in *Rasidi Ticket* (Revenue Stamp).

Amrita moves in a very subtle way from a traditional social structure to a self chosen creative fulfilment through her writings. In a similar way she moved the Punjabi folk and culture from a Punjabi home to every house in the North and later to the nation and beyond. She symbolised the oppression of women by articulating issues relating to women with gender perspective imbued with intuitive wisdom and became a voice of Punjabi women. *Meri ek hi awaaz hai, ise ek na samajhna. Ek ek awaaz mein bhavishya bol raha hai. Lakhon awazon ki ek awaaz ho gayi. Sabka ek hi sandesh tha. Hamari bagdor hamare haath mein ho rahi hai*¹². She gave vent to the voice of the Punjabi women that was implicit in the epic love stories and found ways from a strictly rigid social structure to her creative fulfilment. She thus passed through many phases in her writings and very boldly expressed the innermost feelings of a woman without breaking the traditional framework and raised no slogans to relate these issues to the agenda of the activists. She mastered new innovative ways to express the pain and the rebel in the woman by fusing it with Punjab's culture and traditions well portrayed in her books on poetry before 1947.¹³

Amrita through poetry in early phases was not only into the learning of her poetic craft but discovering the women herself. She presents the issues concerning them in such an astonishing diversity of ways that slowly provide her with a key to the understanding of a woman's life in relation to man. The poems in the pre independence phase are steeped in the fervour of her long oppression and of the yearning for a space of her own. Through early writings she became an epitome of the voice of the women. It is significant to note that since then she was able to address the basic insight of feminism to primarily assess the condition of women. The feminist protest was never silenced even when she was writing on different themes of love and beauty, war torn economy or Hindu Muslim relations at the historic time of the partition of India. She has projected how gender analysis helps to understand that absence of gender in theoretical and empirical research

12. *Sandesh (Sanehe)* in Amrita Pritam (ed.), *Punjabi Kavitali*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1968, pp.263-4.

13. *Amrit Lehrein*, 1936, *Jiunda Jiwan* (The Exuberant Life, 1939), *Trel Dhote Phul* (1942), *O' Gitan Wali* (O' Songster,1942), *Badlan di Lali*, (The Evening Redness, 1943), *Pathar Gite* (Stone Pebbles, 1946) *Main Tarikh han Hind Di*, (I am the history of India,1949).

leads to distortion of history. Gender has generated differences in socio-cultural and politico economic implications everywhere in the world¹⁴. This is a continuous process, therefore, by focusing on women allows to investigate the impact of issues raised during nationalism on the society without distorting history in an area that was epicentre of the movement. Exchange of norms and diffusion of ideas during this phase had both socio- cultural politico economic dimensions.

It is time to state that just as earlier self-testimonies of women encouraged by reformers in the 19th century are regarded as reflections of historical consciousness in the last quarter of the 20th century similarly the writings of Amrita Pritam are a reflection of the control of a woman over her own 'self' that is both mental and physical. Altekar's work is rooted in nationalist understanding of women's question. Amrita's writings are addressed to understand not only the issues that confronted a woman but the self, the identity of a woman with a gender approach without separating it in relation to a man.

Amrita's women-centered texts, espousing feminism mark the beginning of scholarship on women that placed women and gender questions at the center of the analysis and interrogated the individual of a woman in new ways. Her writings are the unheard voices that have stimulated reflection on a wide range of issues from agency and victimization to women's cultural differences. Amrita's story of the Punjabi woman allows her characters to tell their own story. She has portrayed women more as agents constrained by patriarchal attitudes and institutions rather as construction of colonial hegemony. *Amrit Lehrein*, (1936), *Jiunda Jiwan* (The Exuberant Life, 1939), *Trel Dhote Phul* (1942), *Badlan di Lali*, (1943), *Pathar Gite* (1946), *Punjab di Awaaz* (1952), *Sunehey* (1955), *Kasturi*, (1957), *Nagmani* (1964), *Raseedi Ticket*, prove her intimate connectedness with the self-identity of a woman far ahead of political independence of India and then far ahead of women's movement in India. Feminism and humanism is addressed in a very bold way. The message in these writings is not the subjugation of the female to the male; rather, it is the rising of the individual self to meet the gap in their positions.

It is important to study how women issues were addressed in Literature during most critic times but it is equally important to see how gender was constructed. Historically the main emphasis during the 19th and in the first half of the twentieth century was in providing education for women. At a time when the Indians were trying to identify the dignity of women in the Indian tradition by highlighting the high status of women in the Vedic Age as seen in AS Altekar's work, Punjabi literature through Amrita's writings was outpouring the unvoiced pain of denied self-determination of a woman more at the behest of the patriarchal society rather than the colonial rule and the issue that had hardly been addressed by the social reformers. She has portrayed woman as victim of oppression but rebels to think of her merely as a 'helpless victim'.

14. As evidenced by *Human Development Report* , (1995 & 1999).

Amrita wrote and questioned attempt of the nationalists in early stages to revive the traditional mother cult while it is much recent that feminist historians rejected this way of appropriating experiences of women (Sangari and Vaid). When key area of inquiry was women's socio-economic condition she stressed the importance of studying women as participants in their own right and, at the same time, in relation to men. The concern with subject position focused attention on a major issue for those striving to represent women's lives in ways that are faithful both to how women see themselves and how they are viewed from the outside. It can be argued that women's lives and experiences as narrated by her are a legitimate area of academic inquiry. Her stories on the negative attitude towards her own life for being a prey to the social construct leaves her no room for even imagining the free space. In the wake of the women's movement women lamented how 19th century reformers determined the reforms suitable for women but Amrita has shown how the patriarchs controlled every aspect of her life. Disillusionment of a woman for her inability to provide a progeny has been very well related with the anti-male attributes that seep in the woman¹⁵. Despite reflecting the rebel in her by keeping her own private space closet to her, Amrita has seen her bond with strings of traditional practices, to the institution of marriage a slave to patriarchy. Translation of her works into English, Urdu, Hindi, French, Danish, Japanese and many literary awards in her name circulated her writings to a wider readership and literate world. Her works were not without the critical understanding of her contemporaries. Khushwant Singh commented in his famous book on the history of the Sikhs: 'Amrita Pritam has not achieved the same distinction in her fiction as she has in her poetry. Her characterisation is often weak and her plots so contrived as to appear manifestly unreal.'¹⁶ The hard lot of Indian women remains the dominant theme in most of her poetry and prose. The Russian Indologist too endorsed the same view.¹⁷

Her concern for portraying the pain of the women was at its peak when she broke the fresh ground in her writings by referring to pain of the women in the political episode of the history of India at the time of the partition, and made a woman's oppression live before the world with superb narrative free from imaginative subtlety. *Aaj Aakhan Waris Shah Nu* linked the two periods to tell the history of the Indian women. She exhorted him to see the victimization of the women in Punjab. *Pinjar* (The Skeleton) is Amrita's another masterpiece on her resentment against social convention, and ultimate surrender to her own fate which she believed was commonly the lot of the Indian womanhood. She portrayed

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15. Amakadi in *Amrita Pritam ki shresht Kahanian*, *Ibid.*.pp.45-53 reflects the life of a rural girl who acquires anti male attitude as she is forced to live an unwilling life owing to the pressures of patriarchal values.
 16. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs, 1839-1974*, Vol. II, Oxford University Press. Delhi, 1966, (Indian Edition, 1977,) p.335.
 17. Igor Serebryakov, *Punjabi Literature: A Brief Outline*, (Translated by T.A. Zalite), Moscow, 1968. He alongwith Igor Rabinovich made a Russian -Punjabi Dictionary.

the traditional woman who tries to rebel but shuts herself within the folds of her circumstances and the social environment, and engages in the noble task of restoring the lives of the victims of their fate to their respective nations.

I have examined Punjabi literature on women only as the basic insight of feminism is to primarily assess the condition of women and gender analysis looms that absence of gender in theoretical and empirical research leads to distortion of history. Gender has generated differences in socio-cultural and politico economic implications therefore, by focusing on women would allow to investigate the impact of issues raised during nationalism on the society without distorting history in an area that was epicentre of the movement. With regard to Amrita Pritam it needs to be still questioned whether "...once again the mother in her triumphed over the Marxist and her writing took the form of a soulful dirge rather than an angry denunciation", as interpreted by Khushwant Singh¹⁸ or she remained "the chronicler of India's misfortunes" against the background of the traditional socio-cultural society. It is time to state that earlier writings of women encouraged by reformers in the 19th century are regarded as reflections of historical consciousness¹⁹ while the 20th century writings of Amrita Pritam are a reflection of the control of a woman over her own 'self' that is both mental and physical. Her writings are the unheard voices that have stimulated reflection on a wide range of issues from agency and victimization to women's cultural differences. Amrita's story of the Punjabi woman allows her characters to tell their own story. She has portrayed women more as agents constrained by patriarchal attitudes and institutions rather as construction of colonial hegemony. Amrita had drawn the women's question from a need of reform in the nineteenth century to a need for recognizing a feminine identity in the twentieth century for a balanced gender equation in the contemporary times.

18. Khushwant Singh, *op.cit.*, p.334.

19. *Sikh Balidan* (The sacrifice of the Sikhs) of Kumidini Mitra published during the Swadeshi movement highlights on history of the sacrifices made by the Sikhs in the defense of their religion . Meredith Borthwick, *The Changing Role of Women in Bengal, 1849-1905*, Princeton University Press, 1984,pp.340-349.

SOCIETY IN THE PROVERBS : CONSTRUCTING THE PUNJAB WOMAN

*Navtej Singh**

Variety of sources are available for constructing social formations in the past. One of these is the proverbs which the historians have failed to make use of. Apart from giving diverse information there is sufficient and sharp perception on the human activities and interactions. Infact, the proverb is the essence of folk understanding and has originated from common experience.¹

A proverb spreads from a family to tribe and then to a nation and to other nations. It has been established that majority of the proverbs have their origin in the east. Every literature of a specific language has its own set of proverbs. In Punjabi there is abundance of proverbs which reflect on the richness of experience of observations in the society. The Punjabi language has also adopted proverbs from Urdu-Persian and Hindi-Sanskrit and are related to the way of living of the people, castes, territories, animals and history. In other words, about the Jats, animals, birds, women, areas or territories, urban-rural perceptions and history.² The present paper is an attempt to observe how the Punjabi proverbs construct an image of the woman because of her interaction with society and environment.

It is claimed that non gives dowry to those girls who run away with their lovers.³ A woman once slipping her character is likely to fall prey to others.⁴ A bad character woman alongwith jat, oxen and he-goat behave nicely when hungry; otherwise they are likely to create problems.⁵ A Jat woman is considered superior among other caste women.⁶ An ugly looking woman is rarely praised for her appearance.⁷ Yet eyeing on other's women and money is bad.⁸ Personality of a woman with contrasting traits is made fun of.⁹ Stupidity of an unwise female is unacceptable.¹⁰ A woman prefers to be widow than to live with bad husband and a

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1. Singh, Headmaster Mehtab & Kohli, Surinder Singh, Mundra, Bachan Singh (eds.), *Punjabi Akhaan-Kosh*, Publication Bureau, Panjab University, Chandigarh, undated, p. ९.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. ९-१०.
3. ਉਧਲ ਗਈਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਦਾਜ ਕੌਣ ਦਿੰਦਾ ਹੈ ?, Singh, Headmaster Mehtab : *Ibid.*, p.8.
4. ਉਧਰੋਂ ਤੀਵੀਂ ਵਿਗੜੀ, ਉਧਰੋਂ ਕਾਂ, ਕੁੱਤਾ, ਇੱਲ ਪੈ ਗਈ, *ibid.*, p.8.
5. ਜੱਟ, ਥੈਲ ਤੇ ਬੱਕਰਾ, ਚੌਥੀ ਭੈੜੀ ਨਾਰ, ਚਾਰੇ ਹੀ ਭੁੱਖੇ ਭਲੇ, ਰੱਜੇ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਗੜ, *ibid.*, p.12.
6. ਰੋਨ ਜੱਟੀ ਹੋਰ ਸਭ ਚੱਟੀ, *ibid.*, p.12.
7. ਅੱਖ ਨਾ ਪੂਛ, ਵਹੁਟੀ ਨਗੀਨੇ ਵਰਗੀ, *ibid.*, p.18.
8. ਅੱਖੀਂ ਸੂਤਕ ਵੇਖਣਾ ਪਰ ਤਿਆ ਪਰ ਧਨ ਰੂਪ, *ibid.*, p.20.
9. ਅੱਖੀਂ ਦਿਸੇ ਨਾ, ਨਾਉਂ ਚਿਰਾਗੇ ਜਾਂ ਅੱਖਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਅੰਨ੍ਹੀ ਤੇ ਨਾਂ ਨੂਰ ਭਰੀ, *ibid.*, p.21.
10. ਅੱਗੇ ਕਮਲੀ, ਮੁੜ ਪੈ ਗਈ ਮੜੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਹ, *ibid.*, p.24.
11. ਅਜੇਹੇ ਸੁਹਾਗ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਰੋਡੇਪਾ ਚੰਗਾ, *ibid.*, p.25.

woman taken for comfort turns to be painful.¹¹ An old woman is considered not worth of a penny.¹²

The wives of brothers turn them enemies of each other.¹³ A family needs to be careful after the son acquires wife for fear of her creating some trouble or misdeed.¹⁴ With the presence of a soft spoken woman prosperity, patience and paradise prevail at home.¹⁵ Yet the bad habits of a woman are covered by the good deeds of her children.¹⁶ Yet a non performing woman always accuses others.¹⁷ A poor woman is unable to help others.¹⁸ A woman has double character; she poisons man and then weep.¹⁹ But sometimes a woman has to face difficult situation both at home and outside.²⁰ A mother can not expect joke from son.²¹ Wife of a blind usually fail to protect her honour.²² A woman prefers to be widowed than to live with a torturous husband.²³

In certain cases it was difficult to even to trust her father.²⁴ A woman without husband was not honoured.²⁵ Bad traits of woman usually aggravate.²⁶ A single wife was always good for husband.²⁷ There exist strained relations between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law; while absence of mother-in-law gave freedom to daughter-in-law.²⁸ Daughters-in-law usually indulge in extra activities without informing their mothers-in-law.²⁹ Even mothers-in-law are criticised for keeping bad company.³⁰ Yet absence of the in-laws provide freedom to wife.³¹ Relationship between wife and elder brother-in-law (husband's elder brother) are always of opposition.³² A wife dominate household in the absence of mother-in-law and sister of husband.³³

A city girl is appreciable in contrast to the village.³⁴ A woman will have fear

12. ਧੋਲੇ ਦੀ ਬੁੱਢੀ, ਟਕਾ ਸਿਰ ਮੁਨਾਈ, *ibid.*, p.30.
13. ਆਉਣ ਪਰਾਈਆਂ ਜਾਈਆਂ, ਵਿਛੋੜਨ ਸਕਿਆਂ ਭਾਈਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.34.
14. ਆਈ ਰੰਨ ਤੇ ਹੋਏ ਕੰਨ, *ibid.*, p.36.
15. ਆਗਿਆਕਾਰੀ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਹੋਏ, ਘਰ ਮਿਠ ਬੋਲੀ ਨਾਰ, ਧਨ ਪਾਲੇ, ਸੰਤੋਖ ਮਨ, ਚਾਰ ਸੁਰਗ ਸੰਸਾਰ, *ibid.*, p.36.
16. ਆਪ ਕੁਚੱਜੀ, ਧੀਆਂ ਪੁੱਤਰਾਂ ਕੱਜੀ, *ibid.*, p.40.
17. ਆਪ ਕੁਚੱਜੀ, ਵਿਹੜੇ ਨੂੰ ਦੋਸ਼, *ibid.*, p.40.
18. ਆਪ ਵਿਰਾਂ ਨੰਗੀ, ਚੋਲੀ ਕਿੰਨ ਦਿਆਂ ਮੰਗੀ, *ibid.*, p.42.
19. ਆਪੇ ਰੰਨਾਂ ਮੋਹਰਾ ਦੇਵਨ, ਆਪੇ ਕਰਨ ਸਿਆਪੇ, *ibid.*, p.47.
20. ਅੰਦਰ ਪਈ ਨੂੰ ਚੂਹੇ, ਬਾਹਰ ਨਿਕਲੀ ਨੂੰ ਕਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.48.
21. ਅੰਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਸ਼ੋਕੀਨ ਤੇ ਮਾਂ ਨਾਲ ਮਸ਼ਕਰੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.48.
22. ਅੰਨ੍ਹੇ ਦੀ ਜ਼ੋਰੂ, ਰੱਬ ਰਖਵਾਲਾ, *ibid.*, p.61.
23. ਇਸ ਸੁਰਾਗ ਨਾਲੋਂ ਰੋਡੇਪਾ ਚੰਗਾ, *ibid.*, p.62.
24. ਇਸ ਬਾਬਲ ਦਾ ਕੀ ਭਰਵਾਸਾ, ਡੋਲੀ ਪਿਆਂ ਵੀ ਕੱਢੇ, *ibid.*, p.65.
25. ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਰੂਪ ਚੇਰੀ ਕੀ ਨਿਆਈਂ, *ibid.*, p.66.
26. ਇਕ ਕਮਲੀ, ਦੂਜੀ ਪੈ ਗਈ ਸਿਵਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਰਾਹ, *ibid.*, p.68.
27. ਏਕਾ ਨਾਰੀ ਸਦਾ ਜਤੀ, *ibid.*, p.79.
28. ਸੱਸ ਡਿਓਡੀਓ ਲੰਘੀ ਤੇ ਨੂੰਹ ਨੈਣ ਮਟਕਾਏ, *ibid.*, p.70.
29. ਸੱਸ ਤੋਂ ਚੇਰੀ ਆਈ ਹਾਂ, ਜਵਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਕਣਕ ਵਟਾ ਦੇ, *ibid.*, p.80.
30. ਸੱਸ ਦੀਆਂ ਮੋਲਣਾਂ, ਜੁਲਾਹੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਤੋਲਣਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.80.
31. ਸੱਸ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੰਗ ਚੱਲਾਂ, ਸੁਰਾ ਨਹੀਂ ਘੁੰਡ ਕੱਢਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.80.
32. ਏਵੇਂ ਜਾਵੇ, ਖਰ ਜੇਠ ਨਾ ਖਾਵੇ, *ibid.*, p.79.
33. ਸੱਸ ਨਾ ਨਨਾਣ, ਵਹੁਟੀ (ਨੂੰਹ) ਆਪ ਵਿਰੇ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ, *ibid.*, p.81.
34. ਸ਼ਹਿਰ ਦੀ ਚਿੜੀ, ਪਿੰਡ ਦੀ ਕੁੜੀ, *ibid.*, p.82.

if there is someone elder in the in-law's house.³⁵ Sometimes the daughter-in-law has tendency to put false blame of torture on the father-in-law or some one elder in family.³⁶ On the other a weak or pressured father-in-law looses command over daughter-in-law.³⁷ Sometimes even a daughter-in-law is not liked at home, yet she tends to preach outside that she is being loved by the in-laws.³⁸ Loose character woman looses respect.³⁹ The cleverness in woman's character is disliked.⁴⁰ A woman is considered married only if liked by the husband.⁴¹ Generally death of husband brings difficulties to wife.⁴² Engagement of a girl brings sense of pride in her.⁴³ Breaking of relationship brings sense of indifference in his lover.⁴⁴ A woman who prefers to stay without marriage in younger days but gets married in old age is made fun of.⁴⁵

A woman bringing undesirable result is not appreciated.⁴⁶ Wife of a person be considered as daughter of others.⁴⁷ A woman forgetting everything after seeing a handsome person brings difficulties.⁴⁸ An usually idler woman gets appreciation for her mere work.⁴⁹ Fewer gifts from wife's parents bring criticism from the in-laws.⁵⁰ The practice of sleeping woman with other men is common.⁵¹ That woman should not be discarded as she gives birth to saints in monarchs.⁵² It is not necessary that a beautiful woman will have good qualities at heart.⁵³ A mother as the greatest teacher of child be appreciated.⁵⁴ The two wives of a husband can never be friends.⁵⁵ If a woman's husband keeps another lady, the wife considers herself as widow.⁵⁶ A barren woman's allegations on her husband are not taken seriously.⁵⁷

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35. ਸਹੁਰਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਘੁੰਡ ਕੱਢੇ, ਸੱਸ ਹੋਵੇ ਤਾਂ ਸੰਗ ਕਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.82.
36. ਸਹੁਰਾ ਨੂੰਹ ਨਾਲ ਗੱਲ ਨਾ ਕਰੋ, ਨੂੰਹ ਰੰਨ ਭੋਕ ਭੋਕ ਮਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.83.
37. ਸਹੁਰਾ ਬੱਧਾ, ਨੂੰਹ ਨੂੰ ਦਾਉ ਲੱਧਾ, *ibid.*, p.83.
38. ਸਹੁਰਾ ਮੂੰਹ ਨਾ ਧਰੋ, ਤੇ ਨੂੰਹ ਹਗ ਹਗ ਭਰੋ, *ibid.*, p.83.
39. ਸ਼ੱਕ ਪਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ, ਤੀਵੀਂ ਦਾ ਜਸ ਗਿਆ ਨਹੀਂ, *ibid.*, p.84.
40. ਸੱਤਾਂ ਪੱਤਣਾਂ ਦਾ ਪਾਣੀ ਪੀਤਾ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.90.
41. ਸਾਈ ਸੁਹਾਗਣ ਜੋ ਪੁਭੁ ਭਾਈ, *ibid.*, p.100.
42. ਸਾਈਂ ਅੱਖਾਂ ਫੇਰੀਆਂ ਵੇਰੀ ਕੁੱਲ ਜਹਾਨ, *ibid.*, p.101.
43. ਸਾਹੇ ਬੱਧੀ ਤਾਂ ਹੁਣ ਲੱਧੀ, *ibid.*, p.102.
44. ਸਾਬੋਂ ਗਈਏ ਗੋਰੀਏ, ਭਾਵੇਂ ਅੱਗੋਂ ਖੜ੍ਹਨ ਨੀ ਚੋਰ
ਜਾਂ ਸਾਬੋਂ ਗਈਏ ਗੋਰੀਏ, ਪਰੇ ਪਰੇਡੇ ਜਾਹ, *ibid.*, p.104.
45. ਸਾਰੀ ਉਮਰ ਕੰਵਾਰੀ ਰਹੀ, ਮੜ੍ਹੀਆਂ ਜਾਂਦੀ ਉਧਲ ਗਈ, *ibid.*, p.106.
46. ਸਾਰੀ ਰਾਤ ਭੰਨੀ ਤੇ ਜੰਮ ਪਈ ਅੰਨ੍ਹੀ, *ibid.*, p.107.
47. ਸਾਰੀ ਰੰਨ ਜੁਲਾਹੇ ਦੀ, ਹੋਰਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਧੀ, *ibid.*, p.107.
48. ਸੁਹਣਾ ਤਕ ਕੇ ਭੁੱਲੀ, ਚੌਥਾ ਲੰਘਣ ਚੁਲ੍ਹੀ, *ibid.*, pp.113-114.
49. ਸੁੱਤੀ ਨੇ ਕੱਤਿਆ ਹੀ ਸਹੀ, *ibid.*, p.116.
50. ਸੁੱਥਣ ਤੇ ਨਾਲਾ ਬੀਬੀ ਦੇ ਕੱਪੜੇ ਆਏ, *ibid.*, p.117.
51. ਸੋਜ ਬਿਗਾਨੀ ਸੁੱਤਾ, ਹੋਇਆ ਖਰਾ ਵਿਗੁੱਤਾ, *ibid.*, p.120.
52. ਸੋ ਕਿਉਂ ਮੰਦਾ ਆਖੀਐ ਜਿਤੁ ਜੰਮਹਿ ਰਾਜਾਨ, *ibid.*, p.123.
53. ਸੋਨੇ ਦੀ ਕਟਾਰ ਵੇਖ ਕੇ ਢਿੱਡ ਵਿਚ ਨਹੀਂ ਦੇ ਲਈ ਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.126.
54. ਸੌ ਉਸਤਾਦ ਤੇ ਇਕ ਮਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.126.
55. ਸੌਂਕਣ ਸਹੇਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ, ਲੁਥਾਣਾ ਬੇਲੀ ਨਹੀਂ, *ibid.*, p.128.
56. ਸੌਂਕਣ ਤੋਂ ਸੋਹਾਗਣ ਕੇਹੀ, ਕਰ ਦੇ ਸਾਈਆਂ ਇਕੋ ਜੇਹੀ, *ibid.*, p.128.
57. ਸੰਢ ਸਪੁੱਤੀ ਨਾ ਬੀਐ ਕਣਤਾਵੇ ਕੰਡੇ, *ibid.*, p.129.

Without husband a wife is unable to fulfil her physical desires.⁵⁸

A wife in company of her husband and a mother with son always feel proud.⁵⁹ A female is expected to be careful in developing relationship with others.⁶⁰ Response of the female can entangle her in relationship.⁶¹ Quarrels between husband and wife are the norms.⁶² False sense of pride of a woman is joked at.⁶³ A divorcee woman is taken care of by her parents.⁶⁴ A poor woman's pretention of being rich is usually exposed by others.⁶⁵ Marriage of a beautiful woman with an ugly husband draws criticism of the people.⁶⁶ A woman in family with children from different persons is not liked.⁶⁷ A beautiful woman needs greater care or protection but sometimes becomes difficult to control her.⁶⁸ In some cases a wife gets unnecessary accusation because of misdeeds of her husband.⁶⁹

In some cases opinion of the woman is not taken seriously.⁷⁰ Friendship between son-in-law and father-in-law is not appreciated.⁷¹ An incapable woman if given some responsibility tends to bring loss.⁷² Habits of girls are seen as clever (ਚੰਚਲ) and are compared with the characteristics of sparrows and goats.⁷³ Daughters and girls grow up speedily and their responsibility begins to feel by the parents much earlier in contrast to the sons and boys.⁷⁴ Wife of a rich man is usually taken special care by others.⁷⁵ An idle husband becomes a complaint with wife.⁷⁶ A woman, a dagger and horse can never be trusted.⁷⁷ An exchange marriage alliance of female is not praised.⁷⁸ Wife of a poor man is eyed by everybody.⁷⁹

With passage of time even a guilty starts believing to be fair or truthful.⁸⁰ A

58. ਸਾਈਂ ਬਾਝੋਂ ਸੌਣ ਤ੍ਰਿਹਾਈਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.131.
59. ਸਿੰਘ ਦੀ ਸਿੰਘਣੀ, ਪੁੱਤ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ, ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ ਦੇ ਮੇਲੇ ਤੁਰਦੀ ਕਾਹਨੂੰ, *ibid.*, p.132.
60. ਹੱਸੀ ਤੇ ਫਸੀ, *ibid.*, p.132.
61. *Ibid.*
62. ਹੱਥ ਵਿਚ ਗੁੱਤ ਤੇ ਨੌਹ ਸੌਟਾ, *ibid.*, p.137.
63. ਹਵੇਲੀ ਮੀਏਂ ਬਾਕਰ ਦੀ, ਵਿਚ ਸਲੋਮੋ ਆਕੜ ਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.141.
64. ਹਾਲੀਆਂ ਤ੍ਰਾਹ ਦਿਤੀਆਂ, ਪਾਲੀਆਂ ਤਾਂ ਨਹੀਂ ਤ੍ਰਾਹ ਦਿਤੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.143.
65. ਹਿਕ ਦਮੜੀ ਬੀਬੀ ਦੇ ਪੱਲੇ, ਬੀਬੀ ਹਾਰ ਘਿਨਣ ਚਲੀ, *ibid.*, p.144.
66. ਹੂਰ ਦੀ ਗੋਦੀ ਵਿਚ ਲੰਗੂਰ, *ibid.*, p.147.
67. ਕਹੀਂ ਕੀ ਈਟ, ਕਹੀਂ ਕਾ ਰੋੜਾ, ਭਾਨਮਤੀ ਨੇ ਕੁੰਬਾ ਜੋੜਾ, *ibid.*, p.154.
68. ਕਪਾਹ ਦੀ ਛੁੱਟੀ ਜਿਥੇ ਧਰੀ ਉਥੇ ਲੁੱਟੀ, *ibid.*, p.161.
69. ਕਰੇ ਗੰਗਾ ਤੇ ਭਰੇ ਬੀਬੀ, *ibid.*, p.168.
70. ਕੁਕੜੀ ਦੀ ਬਾਂਗ ਰਵਾ ਨਹੀਂ, *ibid.*, p.172.
71. ਵੱਡਾ ਕੁੱਤਾ, ਸੋਈ ਭਾਲ,
ਸਹੁਰਾ ਫਿਰੇ ਜਵਾਈਏ ਨਾਲ, *ibid.*, p.183.
72. ਕੁੱਤੀ ਨੌਣ ਮੰਡਿਆਂ ਦੀ ਰਾਖੀ ?, *ibid.*, p.184.
73. ਕੁੜੀਆਂ, ਚਿੜੀਆਂ, ਬਕਰੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਤਿੰਨੋ ਜਾਤੀ ਅਥਰੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.186.
74. ਕੁੜੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਧਰੋਕਾਂ ਵਧਦਿਆਂ ਚਿਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਲਗਦਾ, *ibid.*, p.187.
75. ਖਸਮੇ ਭਾਣੀ ਸੋਈ ਰਾਣੀ, *ibid.*, p.195.
76. ਖੱਟਣ ਗਏ ਖਟਾਊ, ਘਰ ਕੀ ਖੱਟ ਲਿਆਏ,
ਬੁਕਰ ਕਰੋ ਸਿਰ ਮੁੰਨਿਓ ਘਰ ਜਿਉਂਦੇ ਆਏ, *ibid.*, p.196.
77. ਖੰਡਾ, ਘੋੜਾ, ਇਸੜੀ ਤਿੰਨੋ ਜਾਤ ਕੁਜਾਤ, *ibid.*, p.209.
78. ਗਹਿਣੇ ਦਾ ਸ਼ਾਹ ਕਾਹਦਾ, ਵੱਟੇ ਦੀ ਕੁੜਮਾਈ ਕਾਹਦੀ ?, *ibid.*, p.210.
79. ਗਰੀਬ ਦੀ ਜੋਰੂ (ਤੀਮੀ) ਜਣੇ ਖਣੇ ਦੀ ਭਾਬੀ, *ibid.*, p.213.
80. ਗੱਲ ਹੋਈ ਪੁਰਾਣੀ, ਬੁਕਲ ਮਾਰ ਬੈਠੀ ਸਵਾਣੀ, *ibid.*, p.214.

woman after marriage is difficult to control; a daughter-in-law visiting others' houses is lost and a daughter with enough of laughing is likely to lose her character.⁸¹ A beautiful woman living in the neighbourhood attracts others.⁸² Increased lust in woman allows others to exploit her.⁸³ Flesh of a beautiful woman is meant only to be enjoyed.⁸⁴ A woman is advised to keep herself to the task and should never bother about others.⁸⁵ A stupid woman fail to benefit opportunity.⁸⁶ A rascal woman becomes cause of sufferings.⁸⁷ Offers from wife's family are given preferences over the husband's family.⁸⁸ At the same time money or economic status matters in matrimonial opportunities.⁸⁹

Sometimes with arrival of guests the host woman disappears in order to avoid their hospitality.⁹⁰ A house and husband are commonly desired.⁹¹ Some females habitually pretend to be rich though in actual are living in poverty.⁹² Importance of wife is duly recognised since the house without wife is considered incomplete.⁹³ On the other though the household business is being run by a woman but the credit usually goes to husband.⁹⁴ Yet the routine work throughout the day sometimes causes tiredness to a wife or woman at home.⁹⁵ Richness brings more relations.⁹⁶ Some women have the tendency to be quarrelsome at home but behave nicely with the outside people.⁹⁷ A wife is only scared of her husband and rarely bothers others in his absence.⁹⁸ Brother of wife at home is considered an obstacle in relationship between husband and wife.⁹⁹ A woman praises her own actions only.¹⁰⁰ The woman with tendency to shriek work tends to bear losses.¹⁰¹ Conceiving of

81. ਗੱਲ ਪਈ ਸਲਾਹੀਂ ਉਹ ਭੀ ਗਈ,
ਰੰਨ ਗਈ ਵਿਆਹੀ ਉਹ ਭੀ ਗਈ ।
ਘਰ ਘਰ ਫਿਰਦੀ ਨੂੰਹ ਗਈ,
ਤੇ ਬਹੁਤੇ ਹਾਸਿਉਂ ਧੀ ਗਈ, *ibid.*, p.215.
82. ਗੁਆਂਡਣ ਦਾ ਰੂਪ ਨਹੀਂ ਆਉਂਦਾ, ਚੱਜ ਤਾਂ ਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.219.
83. ਗੁੜ ਗਿੱਝੀ ਰੰਨ ਵਿਗੋਏ, ਛੱਲੀ ਪੂਣੀ ਹੱਟੀ ਢੋਏ, *ibid.*, p.222.
84. ਗੋਰੀ ਦਾ ਮਾਸ ਚੁੰਢੀਆਂ ਜੋਗਾ, *ibid.*, p.224.
85. ਗੌ ਕੱਢ ਘੁਮਿਆਰੀਏ, ਚਿਤੜ ਬੱਥੁਆ ਲਾ, *ibid.*, p.225.
86. ਗੰਜੀ ਗਈ ਪੇਕੇ, ਲੈ ਜੁਆਂ ਆਈ, *ibid.*, p.226.
87. ਗੁੰਡੀ ਰੰਨ ਤੇ ਕੁਪੱਤਾ ਗੁਆਂਡ, ਨਾ ਮਰੇ, ਨਾ ਪਿਛੋਂ ਲੱਥੋ, *ibid.*, p.227.
88. ਘਗਗੀ ਦਾ ਸਾਕ ਅੱਗੇ ਤੇ ਪਗੜੀ ਦਾ ਸਾਕ ਪਿੱਛੇ, *ibid.*, p.228.
89. ਘਰ ਆਉਣਗੀਆਂ ਰੋਟੀਆਂ, ਭੱਜੀਆਂ ਆਉਣਗੀਆਂ ਵਹੁਟੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.228.
90. ਘਰ ਆਏ ਪ੍ਰਾਹੁਣੇ, ਗਈ ਗੜੋਂਦੇ (ਬੇਰ) ਖਾਣ, *ibid.*, p.228.
91. ਘਰ ਹੋਵੇ ਵਸਣ ਨੂੰ, ਮਰਦ ਹੋਵੇ ਹੱਸਣ ਨੂੰ, *ibid.*, p.229.
92. ਘਰ ਖਾਣ ਨੂੰ ਨਹੀਂ, ਅੰਮਾਂ ਪੀਹਣ ਗਈ ਏ, *ibid.*, p.229.
93. ਘਰ ਘਰ-ਵਾਲੀ ਨਾਲ, *ibid.*, p.229.
94. ਘਰ ਤੀਵੀਆਂ ਦੇ, ਨਾਂ ਮਰਦਾਂ ਦੇ, *ibid.*, p.230.
95. ਘਰ ਦਾ ਕੰਮ ਤੇ ਟੁੱਟ ਮੋਈ ਰੰਨ, *ibid.*, p.231.
96. ਘਰ ਪਕਦੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਸਾਕ ਨੇ, *ibid.*, p.233.
97. ਘਰ ਲੜਾਕੀ ਬਾਹਰ ਸਿੰਘਣੀ, ਮੋਲੋਂ ਮੇਰਾ ਨਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.234.
98. ਘਰ ਵਾਲਾ ਘਰ ਨਹੀਂ ਤੇ ਹੋਰ ਕਿਸੇ ਦਾ ਡਰ ਨਹੀਂ, *ibid.*, p.234.
99. ਘਰ ਵਿਚ ਸਾਲਾ, ਕੰਧ ਵਿਚ ਆਲਾ, *ibid.*, pp.234-35.
100. ਘੁਮਿਆਰੀ ਆਪਣਾ ਭਾਂਡਾ ਹੀ ਸਲਾਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.238.
101. ਚਸਕੋਰੀਆਂ, ਹਡ-ਹਰਮਣਾਂ,
ਅੱਜ ਵੀ ਪਟੀਆਂ ਤੇ ਕਲ੍ਹ ਵੀ ਪਟੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.241.

woman is appreciated; barrenness disliked.¹⁰²

A woman is supposed to work both at her parents and in-laws house.¹⁰³ Richness tends to ignore relatives.¹⁰⁴ But the rich usually care for the rich.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes the rascal women dominate the social spectrum.¹⁰⁶ Sin committed by a female brings shame to the family and her relatives.¹⁰⁷ A mother of a thief is considered greater sinner.¹⁰⁸ There are females who run away from their homes with their lovers without marriage.¹⁰⁹ Girls feel absence of their lovers but enjoy happiness and comfort in their company.¹¹⁰ A known rascal pointing finger at some gentle is not liked.¹¹¹ A girl is always expected to get married.¹¹² A widow female is likely to develop illegitimate sexual relationships with other men.¹¹³

A woman with tendency to please everyone is not appreciated.¹¹⁴ A wife who controls her husband is likely to spoil the house.¹¹⁵ Woman, money and land are the three main factors of social conflict.¹¹⁶ Yet on the other, it becomes difficult to enjoy a woman without money.¹¹⁷ A good female gives birth to better children.¹¹⁸ An unfortunate female usually receives trouble everywhere.¹¹⁹ Those women whose husbands are away or abroad always remain in trouble.¹²⁰ Sufferings of a daughter is felt more by the mother.¹²¹ But those women who indulge in extra-marital love affairs fail to keep interest in house-hold affairs.¹²² A woman with bad character often makes hell of lives of others.¹²³ But the woman with good character is

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102. ਚਣਾ ਚੇਤ ਘਣਾ, ਕਣਕ ਘਣੀ ਵਿਸਾਖ,
ਇਸਤ੍ਰੀ ਘਣੀ ਤਾਂ ਜਾਣੀਏ, ਜਾਂ ਮੁੰਡਾ ਹੋਵੇ ਢਾਕ, *ibid.*, p.241.
103. ਚੀਨਾ ਛੜਦੀ ਪੇਕੇ ਗਈ, ਉਥੇ ਵੀ ਪਿਆ ਛੜਨਾ, *ibid.*, p.248.
104. ਚੂੜੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਥਰੀ, ਨਾ ਭੈਣ ਨਾ ਭਣੇਈ, *ibid.*, p.248.
105. ਚੂੜੇ ਵਾਲੀ ਦੀ ਚੂੜੇ ਵਾਲਾ ਬਾਂਹ ਫੜਦਾ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.251.
106. ਚੋਰ ਉਚੱਕਾ ਚੋਸਰੀ, ਲੁੱਡੀ ਰੰਨ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ, *ibid.*, p.252.
107. ਚੋਰ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਕੋਠੀ ਵਿਚ, *ibid.*, p.253.
108. ਚੋਰ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਮਾਰੋ, *ibid.*, p.253.
109. ਚੋਦਾਂ ਬਰਸ ਕਵਾਰੀ ਰਹੀ,
ਚੋਲਾ ਪਾਂਦਿਆਂ ਉਧਲ ਗਈ, *ibid.*, p.253.
110. ਚੋਨ ਭਾਵੇਂ ਨਿੱਤ ਚੜ੍ਹਦਾ, ਸਾਨੂੰ ਸੱਜਣਾਂ ਬਾਝ ਹਨੇਰਾ, *ibid.*, p.256.
111. ਛਜਾ ਵੇ ਛੇ ਕਾਲਿਆ ! ਬਲੇ ਨੀ ਮਾਸੀ ਅਣਵਿਧੀਏ, *ibid.*, p.259.
112. ਛੋਡਹਿ ਅੰਨ ਕਰਹਿ ਪਾਪੰਡ, ਨਾ ਸੋਹਾਗਨਿ ਨਾ ਓਹਿ ਰੋਡ, *ibid.*, p.261.
113. ਜੱਟ ਢੱਟ ਤੋ ਬਕਰਾ, ਚੌਥੀ ਵਿਧਵਾ ਨਾਰ,
ਇਹ ਚਾਰੇ ਭੁੱਖੇ ਭਲੇ, ਰਜੇ ਕਰਨ ਵਿਗਾੜ, *ibid.*, p.266.
114. ਜਣੇ ਖਣੇ ਦੀ ਰੰਨ ਜਾਂ ਜਣੇ ਖਣੇ ਦੀ ਭਾਬੀ, *ibid.*, p.266.
115. ਜਨ ਦਾ ਮੁਰੀਦ ਤੇ ਦਲੀਚਾ ਖਰਾਬ, *ibid.*, p.269.
116. ਜਰ, ਜੋਰੂ, ਜ਼ਮੀਨ, ਤਿਨੇ ਅਪਤਾ ਦਾ ਮੂਲ, *ibid.*, p.270.
117. ਜਰ ਬਿਨਾਂ ਇਸ਼ਕ ਟੋ ਟੋ, *ibid.*, p.271.
118. ਜਿਹੀ ਕੋਕੋ, ਤਿਹੇ ਬੱਚੇ, *ibid.*, p.285.
119. ਜਿਥੇ ਸਾਡੀ ਭਾਗੋ ਜਾਵੇ, ਉਥੇ ਭਾਗ ਪਠੇਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.288.
120. ਜਿਨ ਕੇ ਕੰਤ ਦਿਸਾਪੁਰੀ ਸੇ ਅਹਿਨਿਸ ਫਿਰਿਹ ਜਲੰਤ, *ibid.*, p.291.
121. ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਜਣੀਆਂ, ਓਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਬਣੀਆਂ ਜਾਂ
ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਪੀਆਂ ਜਣੀਆਂ, ਤਿਨਾਂ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਘਣੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.293.
122. ਜਿਨ ਪ੍ਰੇਮ ਪਿਆਲੇ ਪੀਤੇ ਘਰ ਦੇ ਕੰਮੋ ਗਈਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.293.
123. ਜੁੱਤੀ ਸੋੜੀ, ਪੈਂਡਾ ਬੋਟਾ, ਰੰਨ ਭੋੜੀ, ਜੀਉਣਾ ਔਖਾ, *ibid.*, p.297.

considered an asset.¹²⁴

A wife is expected to be faithful even if the husband is un-faithful.¹²⁵ A woman who indulges in comforts and lust is likely to lose individual personality.¹²⁶ There exist few proper matching of couples in weddings.¹²⁷ An unmarried girl desires to get marry but it increases her responsibilities.¹²⁸ A mother, howsoever be bad will never do any harm to the children.¹²⁹ An ugly looking woman pretending to be beautiful is made fun of.¹³⁰ Women in neighbourhood are expected to avoid quarrels.¹³¹ It is claimed that a woman could enjoy sex only if she is completely devoted physically and emotionally to her husband.¹³² In few cases wives are fed up with their husbands.¹³³ Yet a woman is teased everywhere.¹³⁴ But the woman has the capacity to do any bad action.¹³⁵ A wife without husband's liking leads life like a widow.¹³⁶ It is claimed that one could expect rain after seeing clouds but never expect good things from a woman who is after enjoyments.¹³⁷

In general nature and character of women hurt others.¹³⁸ Women have the tendency to do bad things and repeat even after advice.¹³⁹ It makes difficult to trust her.¹⁴⁰ There exist in society certain women who are considered sources of all disputes.¹⁴¹ Carefree wives and husbands draw criticism.¹⁴² Massaging of females body is common and also their secrets.¹⁴³ A donor tests when without money,

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124. ਜੂਏ ਜੇਡ ਵਪਾਰ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ, ਜੇ ਵਿਚ ਹਾਰ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਭਾਈਆਂ ਜੇਡ ਪਿਆਰ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ, ਜੇ ਵਿਚ ਖਾਰ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ।
ਤੀਵੀਂ ਜੇਡ ਵਜ਼ੀਰ ਨਾ ਕੋਈ, ਜੇ ਬਦਕਾਰ ਨਾ ਹੋਵੇ, *ibid.*, p.298.
125. ਜੇ ਪਿਰ ਬਹੁ ਘਰ ਹੰਢਣਾ, ਸਤ ਰਖੇ ਨਾਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.300.
126. ਜੇ ਪੱਟੀ, ਜੋ ਸੁਆਦੋਂ ਪੱਟੀ, *ibid.*, p.306.
127. ਜੋੜੀਆਂ ਜਗ ਬੋੜੀਆਂ, ਨਰੜ ਬਥੇਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.310.
128. ਜਾਂ ਕੁਆਰੀ ਤਾਂ ਚਾਉ, ਵੀਵਾਹੀ ਤਾਂ ਮਾਮਲੇ, *ibid.*, p.312.
129. ਡਾਇਣ ਮਾਣਸ ਖਾਵਣੀ, ਪੁਤ ਖੁਰਾ ਨਾ ਮੱਗੇ, *ibid.*, p.314.
130. ਡਾਂਗੀ ਦਾ ਤਲਾ ਮੂੰਹ, ਤੇ ਨਾਂ ਰੋਸਨ ਖਾਡੂਨ, *ibid.*, p.326.
131. ਢਾਈ ਘਰ ਡੇਣ ਵੀ ਛੱਡ ਦਿੰਦੀ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.326.
132. ਤਨੁ ਮਨੁ ਸਉਪੇ ਕੰਝ ਕਉ,
ਤਉ ਨਾਨਕ ਭੋਗਿ ਕਰੇਇ, *ibid.*, p.330.
133. ਤਰ ਗਏ ਜਣੇਦੇ ਅਖੀਂ ਨੂਟ ਕੇ ਲਾਵਾਂ ਦੋਦੇ, *ibid.*, p.330.
134. ਤੀਮਤਾਂ ਦਾ ਜਾਮਾ, ਆਣੇ ਦੀ ਤੋਣ ਹੁੰਦੀਏ,
ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਅੰਦਰ ਚੂਹਿਆਂ ਦਾ ਤੇ ਬਾਹਰ ਕਾਵਾਂ ਦਾ ਖਤਰਾ, *ibid.*, p.331.
135. ਤੀਮਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਜਾਤ ਡਾਢੀ, *ibid.*, p.331.
136. ਤਾ ਸੋਹਾਗਣਿ ਜਾਂ ਕੇਤੇ ਭਾਵੇ, *ibid.*, p.332.
137. ਤਿੱਤਰ ਪੰਡੀ ਬਦਲੀ, ਰੰਨ ਮਲਾਈ ਖਾਏ,
ਉਹ ਵਸੋ, ਉਹ ਉਜੜੇ, ਕਦੀ ਨਾ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਜਾਏ, *ibid.*, p.333.
138. ਤੀਵੀਆਂ ਬੁਰੀ ਬਲਾ, *ibid.*, p.335.
139. ਤੀਵੀਂ ਦੀ ਮੱਤ ਜੁੱਤੀ ਪਿਛੇ,
ਜਾਂ
ਤੀਵੀਂ ਦੀ ਅਕਲ ਗੁੱਤ ਪਿਛੇ, *ibid.*, p.335.
140. ਤੇਰੇ ਲਾਰੇ ਤੇ ਮੁੰਡੇ ਰਹਿਣ ਕੰਵਾਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.335.
141. ਤੂੰ ਤਾਂ ਸਿਆਣੇ ਦੀ ਨਾਨੀ ਹੋਂ, *ibid.*, p.342.
142. ਤੂੰ ਨਾ ਪਾਈ ਛਪਲੀ, ਮੈਂ ਨਾ ਪਾਈ ਚੁਲ੍ਹ,
ਜਿਧਰ ਮਰਜ਼ੀ ਆ ਉਧਰ ਜੁਲ, *ibid.*, p.342.
143. ਦਾਈਆਂ ਕੋਲੋਂ ਪੇਟ ਗੁਝੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ, *ibid.*, p.348.

the buffaloes in the months of February and March and the woman's attitude when there is no money.¹⁴⁴ Cleverness of a beautiful woman merely tarnishes her image.¹⁴⁵ Yet none could tame a woman.¹⁴⁶ Her character is considered very cunning.¹⁴⁷ Sometimes problems created by a daughter make father fed up with her.¹⁴⁸ It is also considered bad to look at a bathing daughter.¹⁴⁹ Daughters are considered property of others and it is advised to marry them young for fear of losing control over them.¹⁵⁰

Birth of a girl child scares money.¹⁵¹ A mother with only daughters receives no comfort even in old age.¹⁵² Yet the sufferings of daughters are considered painful by parents.¹⁵³ Bad deeds of daughters, sons and wife cause embarrassment to father.¹⁵⁴ At the same time it is claimed that daughters and sons are blessings of God; and daughters are in no way inferior to sons.¹⁵⁵ A woman is expected to speak without fear; either good or bad.¹⁵⁶ Even family of a rich daughter has to bow before the in-laws.¹⁵⁷ A woman is root of many problems and enmities in society.¹⁵⁸ Some women lose virginity without being marriage.¹⁵⁹ A girl tend to plead father not to marry her to some distant and difficult place.¹⁶⁰ Making love to a bad woman is equated to friendship with a snake.¹⁶¹ Few women are being beaten up regularly by their husbands.¹⁶² There is disliking of husband's sister by the wife.¹⁶³

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144. ਦਾਤਾ ਕਾਲ ਪਰਖੀਏ, ਧੋਨ ਵੱਗਣ ਮਾਹਿ,
ਘਰ ਦੀ ਨਾਰ ਪਰਖੀਏ, ਜੇ ਧਨ ਪਲੇ ਨਾਹਿ, *ibid.*, p.349.
145. ਦਿਸਣ ਪਿਸਣ ਨੂੰ ਸੁਹਣੀ, ਅਮਲੋਂ ਖੁਆਰ, *ibid.*, p.349.
146. ਦਿਤੀ ਖਲ ਨਾ ਖਾਂਦੀ ਤੇ ਕੋਹਲੂ ਚਟਣ ਜਾਂਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.351.
147. ਦਿਲ ਰੋਨ ਦਾ ਫਲੇੜਾ ਕੱਚ ਦਾ ਏ, *ibid.*, p.353.
- ਜਾਂ
ਦੁਖੜੇ ਰੋਂਦੀ ਯਾਰਾਂ ਦੇ, ਲੇ ਲੇ ਨਾਂ ਭਰਾਵਾਂ ਦੇ, *ibid.*, p.355.
148. ਦੇਣਾ ਭਲਾ ਨਾ ਬਾਪ ਦਾ, ਬੇਟੀ ਭਲੀ ਨਾ ਏਕ, *ibid.*, p.360.
149. ਧੀ ਨੂੰ ਨਹਾਂਦਿਆਂ ਤੇ ਪੁੱਤ ਨੂੰ ਖਾਂਦਿਆਂ ਕੋਈ ਨਾ ਵੇਖੇ, *ibid.*, p.366.
150. ਧੀਆਂ ਢਿਢੀਂ ਤਾਂ ਸਮਾਉਂਦੀਆਂ ਹਨ, ਪਰ ਤਾਹੁਣੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸਮਾਉਂਦੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.366.
151. ਧੀਆਂ ਦਾ ਜਿਸ ਦਿਨ ਜਨਮ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਏ,
ਸਵਾ ਹੱਥ ਧਰਤੀ ਕੰਬਦੀ ਏ, *ibid.*, p.367.
152. ਧੀਆਂ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਰਾਣੀ ਬੁਢੇਪੇ ਭਰਦੀ ਪਾਣੀ, *ibid.*, p.367.
153. ਧੀਆਂ ਦੇ ਦੁੱਖ ਬੁਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.367.
154. ਧੀਆਂ ਧਾੜ ਤੇ ਪੁੱਤਰ ਠਾਹ, ਰੋਨ ਦੁਖਾਂ ਦਾ ਖੂਹ ।
ਇਸ ਘਾਣੀ ਤੋਂ ਸੁਭਿਰਿਆ, ਕੋਈ ਹਰ ਜਨ ਕਢੇ ਧੂਹ, *ibid.*, p.367.
155. ਧੀਆਂ ਪੂਤ ਸਭ ਹਰਕੇ ਕੀਏ, *ibid.*, p.367.
156. ਨੱਚਣ ਲੱਗੀ ਤਾਂ ਘੁੰਗਟ ਕੋਹਾ, *ibid.*, p.372.
157. ਧੋਨ ਧੀਆਂ, ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਖਾਨ ਨਿਵਾਏ, *ibid.*, p.370.
158. ਨਾ ਹੋਣ ਰੋਨਾਂ ਨਾ ਪੋਣ ਪੁਆੜੇ, *ibid.*, p.377.
159. ਨਾ ਕੰਵਾਰੀ ਨਾ ਰੋਡ, *ibid.*, p.378.
160. ਨਾ ਦੇਈਂ ਬਾਬਲਾ ਢਲੇ, ਸਿਰ ਪੀੜ ਕਲੋਜਾ ਹਲੇ, *ibid.*, p.380.
161. ਨਾਗਣੀਆਂ ਨਾਲ ਆਸਕੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.384.
162. ਨਿੱਤ ਕੁਟੋਂਦੀ ਪਾਰੋ, ਵੇ ਛੁਡਾਓ ਚੌਕੀਦਾਰੋ, *ibid.*, p.392.
163. ਨਿਨਾਣੇ ਨੀ ਨਿਨਾਣੇ ! ਤੇਰੇ ਭੇਡ ਜਿਡੇ ਆਨੇ,
ਨੀ ਬਘਿਆੜ ਜਿੱਡਾ ਮੂੰਹ, ਨੀ ਤੂੰ ਕਿਸ ਚੰਦਰੇ ਦੀ ਨੂੰਹ, *ibid.*, p.392.

Those who indulge in sexual gratification as momentary experience tend to suffer for longer periods.¹⁶⁴ Matrimony relation with high status family is considered good.¹⁶⁵ It is difficult to be in love on the basis of sheer force.¹⁶⁶ A barber's wife is expected to serve others and cannot do any good for herself.¹⁶⁷ Removal of *Pardah* by a daughter-in-law brings shame to father-in-law as it reflects the change in tradition.¹⁶⁸ The sons are taken away by their wives after marriages; daughters are also betrothed to others, old parents have to live alone united together.¹⁶⁹ There are greater chances of a widow woman running away with some one.¹⁷⁰ Love gives pleasure but the deception in affairs hurts.¹⁷¹

It is suggested that book, pen and woman be not given on loan as these will never return.¹⁷² Death of mother-in-law gives sense of relief to the daughter-in-law.¹⁷³ Daughter of the poor parents always prefers to stay with her in-laws house.¹⁷⁴ But those who live with rich parents need no help.¹⁷⁵ Yet the women who neglected both parents and in-laws house often get into trouble.¹⁷⁶ A jat widow woman generally gets re-married.¹⁷⁷ Children of a rich woman are brought up comfortably.¹⁷⁸ A liar woman persists not to accept her guilt.¹⁷⁹ A woman is equaled to the spoiled poison; she appears to be sweet, but destroys the individual who lives with her.¹⁸⁰ A mother with many sons have to bear many complaints.¹⁸¹ The children are never bastards but their parents.¹⁸²

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164. ਨਿਮਖ ਕਾਮ ਸੁਆਦ ਕਾਰਣਿ
ਕੋਟ ਦਿਨਸ ਦੁਖ ਪਾਵਹਿ, *ibid.*, p.393.
165. ਨੀਵੀਂ ਭਾਂ ਤੇ ਉੱਚਾ ਸਾਕ, *ibid.*, p.395.
166. ਨੇਹੁ ਨਾ ਲਗਦੇ ਜੋਗੀ, *ibid.*, p.395.
167. ਨੈਣ ਦੂਜੇ ਦੇ ਪੈਰ ਧੋਣਾ ਹੀ ਜਾਣਦੀ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.96.
168. ਨੂੰਹਾਂ ਘੁੰਡ ਬਲੇ ਤੇ ਸਹੁਰੇ ਲਗੇ ਮੂੰਹ ਕਜਨ, *ibid.*, p.400.
169. ਨੂੰਹਾਂ ਪੁੱਤਾਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੈ ਗਈਆਂ,
ਧੀਆਂ ਨੂੰ ਲੈ ਗਏ ਹੋਰ ।
ਬੁੱਢਾ ਬੁੱਢੀ ਇਉਂ ਰਹੇ
ਜਿਉਂ ਸੋਨੀ ਉਪਰ ਚੋਰ, *ibid.*, p.400.
170. ਪਛੋਂ ਚਲੇ ਬਦਲੀ ਅਰ ਰੋਡ ਮਲਾਈ ਖਾਇ,
ਉਹ ਬਰ੍ਹੇ ਉਹ ਉਧਲੇ, ਕਿਹਾ ਨਾ ਬਿਰਥਾ ਜਾਏ, *ibid.*, p.404.
171. ਹੱਥ ਸਿਰ ਤੇ ਫੇਰ ਕੇ, ਇਹ ਇਸ਼ਕ ਮਰੋਦਾ ਠਗ, *ibid.*, p.406.
172. ਪਰ ਘਰ ਗਈ ਨਾ ਬਹੁੜਦੀ, ਪੋਥੀ, ਲਿਖਣ, ਨਾਰ, *ibid.*, p.406.
173. ਪੁੱਤਰਾਂ ਸੰਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਮੋਈ, ਤੇ ਨੂੰਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਲਥਾ ਜੰਮ, *ibid.*, p.418.
174. ਪੇਕੀ ਭੁੱਖ ਇੰਚੁ (ਵਿਚੋਂ) ਧੀ ਨਿਕਲ ਵੇਂਦੀ ਏ (ਜਾਂਦੀ ਏ)
ਸਾਵਰੀ ਭੁੱਖ ਇੰਚੁ (ਵਿਚੋਂ) ਨਹੀਂ ਨਿਕਲਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.419.
175. ਪੇਕੇ ਗਈਆਂ ਦੀ ਖੋਰ ਕੌਣ ਦਏ, *ibid.*, p.419.
176. ਪੇਕੇ ਨਾ ਸਹੁਰੇ, ਭੁੱਖ ਮੋਈ ਨਨਿਹਰੇ, *ibid.*, p.419.
177. ਪੈਸਾ ਖੋਟਾ ਨਹੀਂ, ਜੱਟੀ ਰੰਡੀ ਨਹੀਂ, *ibid.*, p.420.
178. ਪੈਸੇ ਵਾਲੀ ਦਾ ਹੀ ਬਾਲ ਖੇਡਦਾ ਹੈ, *ibid.*, p.421.
179. ਪੈਰਾਂ (ਪਰਾਂ) ਤੇ ਪਾਣੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਪੈਣ ਦਿੰਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.421.
180. ਫਰੀਦਾ ਇਹ ਵਿਸੁ ਗੰਦਲਾਂ ਪਰੀਆਂ ਖੰਡੁ ਲਿਵਾੜਿ, *ibid.*, p.425.
181. ਬਹੁ ਪੁੱਤੀ, ਬਹੁ ਮਿਹਣੇ ਜਾਂ
ਬਹੁਤੀ ਡੂਮਣੀ ਢਡ ਨਹੀਂ ਵਜਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.430.
182. ਬਚੇ ਹਰਾਮ ਦੇ ਨਹੀਂ ਹੁੰਦੇ,
ਹਰਾਮ ਦੇ ਮਾਪੇ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ, *ibid.*, p.432.

It is suggested to develop matrimonial relationship by keeping in view the background and tradition of a family.¹⁸³ Sons of a rich Brahmin lady tend to behave devilishly because of easy money and idleness.¹⁸⁴ Daughter of a poor has always to live in scarcities.¹⁸⁵ A child should never lose mother and an old his wife, since both feel hurt.¹⁸⁶ That a cat, a *sadhu*, a woman, fire and a keep do not stay at one place.¹⁸⁷ An old age woman living in style is considered bad.¹⁸⁸ Ill-omened woman is rejected.¹⁸⁹ Friendship with a woman is condemned as a woman can never be a sincere friend.¹⁹⁰ In the absence of husband a marriage is considered useless.¹⁹¹ A girl entering her youth be taken special care.¹⁹² The relationship between wife and her younger brother-in-law is always cordial.¹⁹³ In love caste considerations rarely mattered.¹⁹⁴

Sometimes a poor has to sell his wife but the rich enjoys her.¹⁹⁵ After marriage individuals tend to forget others but focus on the needs of family.¹⁹⁶ A bad woman keeps company of bad people.¹⁹⁷ Fly, fish and women expand with abundance of sources.¹⁹⁸ Affection of mother is unforgettable.¹⁹⁹ Some areas in the district of Rawalpindi are notorious for murders after women.²⁰⁰ Death of a man is considered greater loss to the family in comparison to a woman because of family responsibilities.²⁰¹ Unequal partners produce strange children.²⁰² Son, astrologer

183. ਬਲਦ ਲਈਏ ਲਾਣੇ ਦਾ ਤੇ ਸਾਕ ਲਈਏ ਠਿਕਾਣੇ ਦਾ, *ibid.*, p.435.

184. ਬਾਹਮਣੀ ਦੇ ਪੂਤ ਕੋਈ ਜਿੰਨ ਕੋਈ ਭੂਤ, *ibid.*, p.436.

185. ਬਾਬਲ ਮੇਰੇ ਚੋਲਾ ਦਿਤਾ

ਸਾਹ ਲਵਾਂ ਤੇ ਪਾਟੇ, *ibid.*, p.439.

186. ਬਾਲ ਦੀ ਮਾਂ ਨਾ ਮਰੇ ਬੁੱਢੇ ਦੀ ਜੋਰੂ, *ibid.*, p.441.

187. ਥਿੱਲੀ, ਰੰਨ, ਵਕੀਰ ਤੇ ਅੱਗ ਬਾਂਦੀ

ਤਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਫਿਰਨ ਘਰੇ ਘਰੀ ਕਾਰ ਹੋਵੇ, *ibid.*, p.445.

188. ਬੁੱਢੀ ਕੰਜਰੀ, ਤੇਲ ਦਾ ਉਜਾੜਾ, *ibid.*, p.447.

189. ਬੁਰਾ ਰੋਜ ਦਾ ਪੰਧ, ਬੁਰਾ ਮੂਰਖ ਦਾ ਹਾਸਾ,

ਬੁਰੀ ਕੁਲਹਿਣੀ ਨਾਰ, ਬੁਰਾ ਜੰਗਲ ਦਾ ਵਾਸਾ, *ibid.*, p.449.

190. ਭਠ ਰੰਨਾਂ ਦੀ ਦੋਸਤੀ, ਖੁਰੀ ਜਿਨ੍ਹਾਂ ਦੀ ਮਤ, *ibid.*, p.455.

191. ਭਰਤ ਬਿਧੂਨ ਕਹਾ ਸੋਹਾਗੁ, *ibid.*, p.456.

192. ਭਰੀ ਬੇਰੀ ਨੂੰ ਰਾਹ ਜਾਂਦੇ ਵੀ ਵੱਟੇ ਮਾਰਦੇ ਨੇ, *ibid.*, p.457.

193. ਭਾਬੀ ਦਾ ਸੂਤ ਤੇ ਦੇਵਰ ਦਲਾਲ, *ibid.*, p.458.

194. ਭੁੱਖ ਨਾ ਪੁੱਛਦੀ ਲਾਜਮਾ, ਇਸ਼ਕ ਨਾ ਪੁਛਦਾ ਜਾਤ, *ibid.*, p.459.

195. ਭੁੱਖਾ ਜੋਰੂ ਵੇਚੇ, ਤੇ ਰਜਿਆ ਹੁਦਾਰੀ ਮੰਗੇ, *ibid.*, p.460.

196. ਭੁੱਲ ਗਏ ਰਾਗ ਰੰਗ, ਭੁੱਲ ਗਈਆਂ ਜਕੜੀਆਂ।

ਤਿੰਨੇ ਗੱਲਾਂ ਯਾਦ ਰਹੀਆਂ, ਲੂਣ, ਤੇਲ, ਲਕੜੀਆਂ, *ibid.*, p.462.

197. ਭੇੜੇ ਭੇੜੇ ਯਾਰ ਮੇਰੀ ਫੱਤੇ ਦੇ, *ibid.*, p.464.

198. ਮੱਖੀ, ਮੱਛਰ, ਇਸ਼ਤਰੀ ਤਿੰਨੇ ਜਾਤ ਕੁਜਾਤ

ਜਿਥੇ ਵੇਖਣ ਹਟ ਵਗੇ, ਉਥੇ ਰਹਿੰਦੇ ਦਿਨ ਤੇ ਰਾਤ, *ibid.*, p.468.

199. ਮਾਵਾਂ ਠੰਡੀਆਂ ਛਾਵਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.477.

200. ਮੈਰਾ ਪਟਿਆ ਰੰਨਾਂ, ਕਸਾਲਾਂ ਜਵਾਨ, *ibid.*, p.487.

201. ਮੋਈ ਰੰਨ ਗਿਣੇ ਦੀ ਸੱਟ,

ਮਰਦ ਮਰੇ ਤਾਂ ਸਿਰ ਦੀ ਸੱਟ, *ibid.*, p.487.

202. ਮਾਂ ਟੀਹਣੀ, ਪਿਓ ਕੁਲੰਗ,

ਬੱਚੇ ਨਿਕਲੇ, ਰੰਗ ਬਰੰਗ, *ibid.*, p.492.

and women usually indulge in wasteful expenditure.²⁰³ A daughter and sister are recognised from the family they belong.²⁰⁴ Son of a widow usually becomes irresponsible.²⁰⁵ A widow woman normally indulges in unacceptable actions.²⁰⁶ A woman who remains absent from house is always difficult to control.²⁰⁷

Women of others are always attractive even to those who are physically incapable.²⁰⁸ A shameless woman rarely cares for society.²⁰⁹ A friendship for money sake breaks with poverty.²¹⁰ In debt a woman is likely to be exploited sexually by others.²¹¹ Even a greatest sinner often avoids to commit sin with daughter or sister.²¹² An idler woman usually indulges in futile works.²¹³

Thus the proverbs construct existence of the Punjabi woman from her childhood to end. Her position as daughter, sister, mother and beloved has been defined. In most of the time she is appreciated in her role as sister and mother but the relationship becomes problematic in the context of her social, physical and sexual context in her capacity as a daughter, wife or widower. A woman with character is appreciated as pious but those who attempt forbidden customs, traditions or norms are not merely disliked but criticised and rejected. Not only that she is generally seen as fickle-minded, untrustworthy, cunning and a spoiler of social and moral fabric of the Punjabi society. There is also detail of her roles and performances in respect of her relationship with members of family and society. Because of the varied aspects of her behaviour the proverbs depict thrust on her personality as an individual whose actions tend to create problems not only for herself but the family and society. The kind of stereo type created through the proverbs has its ramifications on the contemporary society which in turn becomes basis of many social conflicts both in family and society.

203. ਮੁੰਡੇ, ਰੋਜ਼, ਰੋਨਾਂ, ਤਿੰਨੋਂ ਉਜਾੜੇ ਦੇ ਬੋਨਾਂ, *ibid.*, p.494.

204. ਸੋਹ ਗਾਂ ਰਵੇ ਦੀ, ਧੀ ਭੈਣ ਖਲਣੇ ਦੀ, *ibid.*, p.497.

205. ਰੰਡੀ ਦਾ ਪੁੱਤ, ਸੌਦਾਗਰ ਦਾ ਘੋੜਾ,
ਖਾਏਗਾ ਬਹੁਤਾ, ਚਲੇਗਾ ਥੋੜਾ, *ibid.*, p.510.

206. ਰੰਡੀ ਪਾਵੇ ਭੰਡੀ, *ibid.*, p.512.

207. ਰੰਨ ਪਈ ਰਾਗੀ, ਉਹ ਵੀ ਗਈ,
ਗੱਲ ਪਈ ਸਾਲਾਗੀ, ਉਹ ਵੀ ਗਈ, *ibid.*, p.513.

208. ਰੰਨ ਪਰਾਈ ਤੇ ਅੰਨ੍ਹੇ ਨੂੰ ਵੇਖ ਭਵਾਟੀ ਆਈ, *ibid.*, p.513.

209. ਲੱਜ ਲਈ ਲਾਹ, ਫੇਰ ਪੰਚਾਂ ਦੀ ਕੀ ਪਵਾਹ, *ibid.*, p.517.

210. ਲੱਭੂ ਮੁੱਕ ਗਏ, ਯਾਰਾਨੇ ਟੁੱਟ ਗਏ, *ibid.*, p.517.

211. ਲਬ ਲਾਨੁਤ ਤੇ ਤਮ੍ਹਾਂ ਖਰਾਬ, *ibid.*, p.517.

212. ਵੱਡਾ ਵਿਕਰਮੀ ਆਖੀਐ, ਧੀ ਭੈਣਹੁ ਸੰਗੇ, *ibid.*, p.527.

213. ਵਿਹਲੀ ਰੰਨ ਪ੍ਰਾਹੁਣਿਆਂ ਜੋਗੀ, *ibid.*, p.532.

THE LEGACY OF MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

*J.S. Grewal**

Born in 1837, Max Arthur Macauliffe was selected for the Indian Civil Service in 1862 and posted to the Punjab in 1864. He was made Deputy Commissioner in 1882 and two years later he became a Divisional Judge. By this time he had begun to take interest in the religion and literature of the Sikhs, especially after the publication of *The Adi Granth* by Ernest Trumpp. Macauliffe's association with Professor Grumukh Singh of the Oriental College at Lahore, who was the most active leader of the Lahore Singh Sabha, and with Bhai Kahn Singh of Nabha, who was an upcoming scholar sympathetic to the Lahore Singh Sabha, served as an incentive. With the deepening of his interest in the *Guru Granth Sahib*, he resigned from service to prepare a new translation of the Sikh scripture. He published his *Holy Writings of the Sikhs* in 1900, and *How the Sikhs Became a Militant People* in 1905. His *magnum opus* appeared in six volumes in 1909. He died in London on 15 March 1913.

Macauliffe used to send printed proofs of his translation to Sikh scholars residing in different parts of the Punjab for their critical suggestions. One such proof was received by Bhagat Lakshman Singh at Rawalpindi. His critical suggestions pleased Macauliffe, and he invited Bhagat Lakshman Singh to translate the *Japji Sahib* for him. A translation prepared by him and his younger brother, Bhagat Balmukand, was sent to Macauliffe and he invited Bhagat Lakshman Singh to Amritsar where he was residing in the hired bungalow in the cantonment. Gathered at his house at that time were Giani Sardul Singh and Giani Hazara Singh of Amritsar, Giani Badan Singh of Faridkot, Sant Hazara Singh of Gujrat, Mahant Prem Singh of Sialkot, and three or four other Sikh divines. Each and every line of the translation was submitted to this learned assembly and adopted only after receiving their criticism. That the project involved a huge expense may be judged from the fact that Macauliffe paid one month's salary to Bhagat Lakshman Singh, besides the return railway fare from Rawalpindi to Amritsar. His dedication to the service of Sikhs and Sikhism filled Bhagat Lakshman Singh with great admiration for him. As editor of the *Khalsa*, the English organ started at Lahore in January 1899, Bhagat Lakshman Singh paid tribute to Macauliffe's service to the Sikh cause. It was at his instance that the bicentenary of the inauguration of the Khalsa Panth was celebrated by the Sikhs of Lahore in 1899. Macauliffe himself contributed one hundred rupees towards the expenses.¹

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1. *Bhagat Lakshman Singh : Autobiography*, ed., Ganda Singh, The Sikh Cultural Centre, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 122-23.

Macauliffe believed that he had done a signal service to the Government, earning for it the gratitude to the Sikh community, undoing 'the mischief' which the German missionary, Dr Ernest Trumpp, had done to them by 'his caricature of the Sikh scriptures'. But the Government offered him the paltry amount of Rs. 5,000. He refused the gift. In his letter of 27 September 1912, Macauliffe wrote to Bhagat Lakshman Singh that the India Office had published Dr Trumpp's work at great expense because 'his insult to the Sikhs and their religion suited the Christian Missionary policy of the Government'. But Sir Macworth Young wrote a secret letter to the Government of India against Macauliffe's work, and it was accepted by the Secretary of State too without enquiry or due consideration.²

The 'Amritsar Sikhs' were not happy with Macauliffe. At the Sikh Educational Conference after his death, a resolution moved to express the community's indebtedness to him met serious opposition, and it was carried only because of the President who respected Macauliffe had been warned before the meeting. However, when Bhagat Lakshman Singh launched a scheme for commemorating Macauliffe's memory, Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia and Bhai Vir Singh welcomed the idea and made contribution in money. The response on the whole was inadequate to build a library in honour of Macauliffe. Bhai Kahn Singh tried to get financial support from the Maharaja of Patiala but there was no response. The money collected by Bhagat Lakshman Singh was offered to the Panjab University for instituting a prize in the name of Macauliffe, but its Syndicate rejected this offer on the plea that the prize was open only to the Sikhs and not to members of all communities. The Managing Committee of Khalsa College, Amritsar, authorized Principal Wathen to approach Bhagat Lakshman Singh. The collected amount of Rs. 3245 was made over to the College in June 1921.³

Professor Teja Singh was among the persons who helped Bhagat Lakshman Singh in his efforts to build a memorial for Macauliffe. He did not admire Macauliffe's work but he was appreciative of his zeal and his efforts to present Sikh ideals in a better light with the help of Bhagat Lakshman Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh. Teja Singh regrets that Macauliffe was not given adequate recognition. The initial reaction of the Sikhs was that the *Guru Granth Sahib* should not be published as a single whole in English translation. Macauliffe was obliged to change his original plan. He had started his work in 1880 and published it in 1909. By this time, the leaders of the Lahore Singh Sabha who had given encouragement and promised support were no longer alive. In 1911, when the Sikh Educational Conference was being held at Rawalpindi, Macauliffe reached there on his own to the utter surprise of Bhagat Lakshman Singh who had no information about the telegram he had sent. They talked throughout the night. Macauliffe told Bhagat Lakshman Singh that he had refused to accept the money offered to him by the Government. He did not want the Sikhs to raise any funds but simply to pass a

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 123-24 & n.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 124-26 & nn.

resolution in appreciation of his book and recommend it to the Sikhs. Bhagat Lakshman Singh gave him assurance that there would be no problem. But on the day following the resolution could not be passed. Macauliffe was heart-broken, went back to his country, and died soon afterwards.⁴

Professor Teja Singh says that Macauliffe's corpse was dishonoured. The Christians said that he did not die as a Christian and, therefore, he could not be buried according to Christian rites. The Sikhs said that he was not a *Keshdhari* Sikh and, therefore, he could not be cremated with Sikh rites. Eventually it was agreed that his corpse may be kept in a grave for five minutes and then cremated. With the money made over to Khalsa College, a gold medal for the best essay on Sikhism was instituted.⁵

In Bhagat Lakshman Singh's assessment, Macauliffe's translation was 'plain and simple' and conveyed to the reader 'in a clear, lucid style the unvarnished message of the holy Gurus'.⁶ For Teja Singh, the translation was too literal. For a good translation it was necessary to grasp the meaning of the original and to express it in the idiom of the language of translation. For example, 'I cannot even once be a sacrifice unto thee', was not an accurate transmission of '*waria na jawa ekvar*'. A better sense is conveyed by 'I cannot sufficiently admire thee'.⁷ Nevertheless, both Bhagat Lakshman Singh and Professor Teja Singh appreciated the fact that Macauliffe had presented the true message of the Sikh Gurus to the English-speaking world when no Sikh scholar was in a position to do so.

In his preface to *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*, Macauliffe acknowledges his indebtedness to Sardar Kahn Singh of Nabha, 'one of the greatest scholars and most distinguished authors among the Sikhs'. Among 'many other Sikh scholars' acknowledged for literary assistance are Bhai Hazara Singh and Bhai Sardul Singh of Amritsar, the late Bhai Ditt Singh of Lahore, and the late Bhai Bhagwan Singh of Patiala.⁸ On the whole, it appears, that Max Arthur Macauliffe had greater affinity with the scholars of the Lahore Singh Sabha than with those of the Amritsar Singh Sabha. Conversely, the leaders of the Lahore Singh Sabha had greater appreciation for his work. Bhagat Lakshman Singh, who equated the Singh Sabha movement with the Singh Sabha of Lahore, had written already in 1899 : 'There can be no denying the fact that the publication of Mr Macauliffe's work will be introduction of a new era in our history'.⁹

II

The Sikh Religion covers nearly 2,500 pages. About half of these are given to the lives of ten Gurus and all the 'Bhagats' whose compositions are included in

4. Teja Singh, *Arsi*, Lok Sahit Prakashan, Amritsar, 1958, pp. 48-49.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

6. Bhagat Lakshman Singh: *Autobiography*, p. 124.

7. Teja Singh, *Arsi*, p. 120.

8. Max Arthur Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion, Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors*, Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1995 (rpt.), pp. xxix-xxx.

9. *Ibid.*, p.x.

the *Adi Granth*. The space devoted to the compositions of the Gurus and the 'Bhagats' is more or less equal to the space given to their 'lives'. The first volume contains about eighty pages of 'preface' and 'introduction'. The rest of the volume is devoted to Guru Nanak. The third volume is devoted entirely to Guru Arjan. The life and compositions of Guru Gobind Singh are given in the fifth volume. Among the Bhagats, the maximum space is given to the compositions of Kabir, followed at a great distance by Namdev and Farid. Macauliffe looks upon Shaikh Ibrahim, the Second Farid, and the author of these compositions. This view of the authorship is not acceptable any more to a large number of scholars who have argued that Shaikh Farid, and not Shaikh Ibrahim, was the author. Ravidas comes next, with more than twenty pages for his compositions. Most of the others get only five to one or even less than one page : Beni, Trilochan, Dhanna, Jaidev, Parmanand, Sadhna, Ramanand, Pipa, Sain, Bhikan, Sur Das and Mira. Macauliffe himself says that Mira's hymn was included in the Banno recension but not in the *Granth* prepared by Guru Arjan. Presumably, he accepted both the recensions as equally authentic.¹⁰ It may be added that all the authors in the *Granth Sahib* are not represented in Macauliffe's work.

Macauliffe used a much larger number and volume of source materials than any of his predecessors. It is quite remarkable that the bulk of his evidence consists of original sources. Much of this original evidence comes from Sikh sources : the *Adi Granth*, the *Dasam Granth*, the works of Bhai Gurdas, the *Janamsakhis*, the *Gurbilas* literature and the works of Bhai Santokh Singh. From amongst his Sikh contemporaries Macauliffe used the works of Giani Gian Singh and Bhai Kahn Singh of Nabha. He also used the well known Persian works like the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, the *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* and the *Siyar-al-Mutakhirin*, apart from the works translated by Elliot and Dowson in the *History of India as Told by its Own Historians*. Macauliffe relied very little on his predecessors. He refers only twice each to the works of Wilson and Trumpp, and only once each to the works of Malcolm and Cunningham.¹¹

Macauliffe's primary concern was with the religion embodied in the Sikh scriptures. He underscored that the Sikh religion was totally unaffected by Semitic or Christian influence. Based on the unity of God, Sikhism rejected Hindu formularies and adopted an independent ethical system and rituals which were totally opposed to the theological beliefs of his contemporaries. Macauliffe was convinced that the *Adi Granth* embodied all the elements of a new religion. Indeed, 'it would be difficult to point to a religion of greater originality or to a more comprehensive ethical system'.¹² Macauliffe quotes from the *Vars* of Bhai Gurdas to show that in his view the Sikh religion was 'distinct, and superior to other religions'.¹³

10. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. VI, p. 342.

11. *Ibid.*, I, pp. xv and 82 n 3; IV, p. 21 n 1; V, p. 35 n; VI, pp. 104 n 3 and 140 n1.

12. *Ibid.*, I, pp. xl-xlix, lii-iv and p.1.

13. *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 241-74.

Macauliffe underlines that religion in India attained its 'monotheistic consummation' in the thought of Guru Nanak. The idea of one God was known since the *Rig Veda*, but Guru Nanak gave 'expansion' to this idea. In response to Trumpp, Macauliffe states that the conception of God can be anthropomorphic, pantheistic or theistic. Logically, however, it is difficult to dissociate one from the other. In the writings of Guru Nanak, 'Pantheism' is distinctly implied in some passages, and in other passages 'matter is made distinct from the Creator' as an emanation from him. Macauliffe suggests that anthropomorphic theism which belongs strictly to 'religion' and pantheism which belongs strictly to 'philosophy' are inextricably blended by all sacred and profane writers. It was not a peculiarity of Guru Nanak, or of the Indian writers. Thus, Macauliffe tries to correct the view presented by Trumpp. In his discussion of *Nirban* too, Macauliffe appears to improve upon Trumpp's view. *Nirban* and *Sach Khand* are practically the same, suggestive of the union of the human soul (*jivatma*) with the Supreme (*paramatma*), like light mingling with light or water with water. One could attain *Nirban* through meditation and by conforming one's life to the teachings of the Guru. Only those who are sufficiently purified can be absorbed in the Absolute, 'the all-dazzling fount of God's infinite perfection and love'.¹⁴

Macauliffe saw many 'moral and political' merits in the Sikh religion. It prohibited idolatry, hypocrisy, caste exclusiveness, the concremation of widows, the immurement of women, the use of wine and other intoxicants, tabacco-smoking, infanticide, slander, pilgrimage to the sacred rivers and tanks of the Hindus; it inculcated loyalty, gratitude for all favours received, philanthropy, justice, impartiality, truth, honesty, and 'all the moral and domestic virtues known to the holiest citizens of any country'.¹⁵ Macauliffe differed with Trumpp on the bearing of the teachings of the Gurus on moral life as well as the nature and character of Sikhism, its relationship with Hinduism, the conception of God in Sikhism, and the Sikh idea of liberation. Far from looking at Sikhism as a form of Hinduism, Macauliffe wanted to see the comparatively young religion to escape the deadly embrace of Hinduism. He was opposed to the idea of the Sikhs being declared to be Hindus because this idea was in direct opposition to the teachings of the Gurus.¹⁶

III

Initially, Macauliffe had thought only of translating the *Adi Granth*. When the work of translation was over, he found it 'absolutely necessary' to give an account of the Sikh Gurus, and of the saints whose compositions are included in the *Adi Granth*, for a correct interpretation of their writings. The current accounts of the Gurus were overladen with 'puerile, heterodox, or repulsive details' which were 'inconsistent with their sacred writings'. This was no less true of Bhai Santokh

14. *Ibid.*, I, pp. lvii-lxix.

15. *Ibid.*, I, p. xxiii.

16. *Ibid.*, I, pp. xxiii and lvii.

Singh's works than of the current *Janamsakhis*. However, Macauliffe's idea was to accommodate what he calls the 'orthodox' Sikh point of view that even miracles find a place in his narratives. Just as in his interpretation of the Sikh faith his aim was to omit 'the debased superstitions and heterodox social customs of Sikhs who have been led astray from their faith by external influences', so his aim in narrating the lives of the Gurus was to omit whatever was inconsistent with their true teachings.¹⁷

Macauliffe tried to work out a compromise between his own critical assessment and the Sikh attitude towards the sources for the life of Guru Nanak. The oldest authentic account was written by Bhai Gurdas not much more than sixty years after the demise of Guru Nanak. The detail given in his first *Var* could therefore be utilized rather unreservedly. Bhai Mani Singh expanded this *Var* in his *Gyan Ratnavali*. After his death, however, the copyists 'interlarded several Hindu ideas in his works'. Tinctured with Hinduism from his early education and environment, Bhai Santokh Singh 'invented' several stories discreditable to the Gurus and their religion. 'His statements accordingly cannot often be accepted as even an approach to history'.¹⁸

The *Janamsakhis*, which professed to be biographies of Guru Nanak, were written at different times after his death and they give 'very different and contradictory details of his life'. All of them record 'miraculous acts and supernatural conversations'. They show the extent to which 'pious fiction' can fabricate details of the lives of religious teachers in all ages and countries. One of the most popular *Janamsakhis* was lithographed at Lahore as a large volume of 588 folio pages. Its editor claimed to have worked hard for collecting and collating materials for this compilation which, he claimed, could not have been produced by anyone else. It was apparently based on Bhai Santokh Singh's *Nanak Prakash*. Attributed to Bhai Bala, it was said to have been dictated to Paira by Guru Angad's order. But its language was not old, and no manuscript copy of the original was available. In fact Bala was not even mentioned by Bhai Gurdas, or Bhai Mani Singh in his *Bhagat Ratnavali*. The *Janamsakhi* was claimed to have been written in 1535 or even in 1525. Evidently, this *Janamsakhi* was not what is claimed to be.¹⁹

Macauliffe tries to explain 'the falsification' of old and 'the composition' of new *Janamsakhis* in terms of 'schisms' in the religion of Guru Nanak. The life of Guru Nanak composed by an Udasi, Anand Ghan, presented Sri Chand as an incarnation of God and the only true successor of Guru Nanak. Miharban had written a *Janamsakhi* of Guru Nanak to glorify his own father, Prithi Chand, the eldest son of Guru Ram Das. For the first time Bhai Bala finds a place in this *Janamsakhi*. Bidhi Chand compiled a *Janamsakhi* to exalt his father Handal and to degrade Guru Nanak by introducing fictitious narratives. Favoured by the Mughal

17. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. ix, xiv-xvii.

18. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. lxxiii-lxxvii.

19. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. lxxvii-lxxviii.

administrators of the province, the Handalis apparently had sufficient influence to destroy nearly all older accounts of the life of Guru Nanak. The Mughal administrators on their own destroyed Sikh manuscripts in the process of persecuting the Sikhs.²⁰

Macauliffe placed the greatest reliance on the *Janamsakhi* written by Sewa Das in 1588. Its language was that of the Pothohar and its characters were unmistakably older than that of any other known work in Gurmukhi. It mentioned Mardana but not Bhai Bala. Though not free from 'mythological matter', it was much more 'rational, consistent, and satisfactory' than any other narrative of Guru Nanak's life. It was 'the most trustworthy' record in existence. Macauliffe proposed to make 'this ancient *Janamsakhi*' the basis of his own account of the life of Guru Nanak. It could be supplemented by 'cullings' from the later accounts of Guru Nanak's life. Macauliffe was familiar with the idea that the *Sakhis* often provided settings for the hymns of Guru Nanak. He himself makes ample use of his verses in his account of Guru Nanak's life. He keeps out elements which appeared to contradict Guru Nanak's teachings, but he does not entirely exercise the supernatural elements.²¹

IV

As we noticed earlier, a whole volume is devoted to Guru Arjan. This is a reflection of the importance Macauliffe gave to Guru Arjan. In his view, it was a measure of great importance that Guru Arjan replaced voluntary offerings by a kind of tax to be regularly collected by his deputies called Masands. He engaged in trade in a grand style; he kept an establishment like a grandee, and he meddled with politics. The Sikhs became accustomed in his time to 'a kind of government of their own'. His martyrdom became a 'great turning-point in the development of the Sikh community'. It changed 'the whole character' of the movement initiated by Guru Nanak.²²

The most remarkable achievement of Guru Arjan was the compilation of the *Granth* which was meant to supplant the authority of the *Vedas* and the *Puranas* and to separate the Sikhs from the mass of the Hindus. The *Granth* alone was authentic and authoritative for the Sikhs, and not any other composition even if it bore the pen-name 'Nanak'.²³ Whereas for Trumpp the inclusion of the compositions of the 'Bhagats' in the *Granth* was one of the proofs that there was no difference between the Bhagats and the Gurus, Macauliffe puts forward the view that Guru Arjan included their compositions in the *Granth* to indicate 'the historical development of the Sikh reformation'. Indeed, 'the last great religion of the world' was not an extension of but a further improvement upon what had been done by others. Furthermore, the Gurus spoke to the people in their own

20. *Ibid.*, I, pp. lxxix-lxxxvi.

21. *Ibid.*, I, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii.

22. *Ibid.*, I, pp. vii, ix & xxix-xxx.

23. Macauliffe tended to accept the *Pran Sangali* as authentic, though it was not included in the *Adi Granth*: *Ibid.*, I, p. 156; III, pp. 53-55 and n 1.

language, and not in Sanskrit which in Hinduism was deemed to be 'the language of the gods'. Carefully preserved from the very beginning, the sacred hymns of the Gurus were the most authentic records in the world.²⁴

Macauliffe's references to the *Adi Granth* appear to reflect the orthodox Sikh position. Guru Gobind Singh dictated the *Granth Sahib* to Bhai Mani Singh at Talwandi Sabo, adding for the first time the hymns and *Shaloks* of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and his own *shalok*. There were two other recensions of the *Granth Sahib*, one written by Bhai Gurdas and the other associated with Bhai Banno. The former was still at Kartarpur in the Jalandhar district and the latter was at Mangat, in the district of Gujrat. However, the recension prepared under the superintendence of Guru Gobind Singh, which was the most complete, was destroyed or taken away as booty by Ahmad Shah Durrani when he despoiled the Golden Temple.²⁵

For the life of Guru Gobind Singh, to whom also a whole volume is devoted, Macauliffe mentions the *Bachittar Natak*, Bhai Sukha Singh's *Gurbilas* and Bhai Santokh Singh's *Suraj Parkash* as the main authorities. He rejects the *Sau Sakhi* but finds Giani Gian Singh's *Panth Prakash* rather useful. He uses Bhai Nand Lal's *Zindgi Nama* and his *Diwan* also in his account. He quotes from the *Zafarnama* at length. He refers to the letter of Guru Gobind Singh addressed to Tilok Singh and Ram Singh, and also to Khafi Khan's work, presumably on the basis of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*. Several compositions of Guru Gobind Singh (other than the *Bachittar Natak* and the *Zafarnama*) are also used by Macauliffe. There is no doubt that he was the first European writer to use all this evidence for an account of Guru Gobind Singh.²⁶

Macauliffe's attitude towards his sources was not uncritical but he tended to select evidence in support of what he regarded as the orthodox position. In his view, the *Krishan Avtar* was not a work of Guru Gobind Singh but of a bard named Shyam. Macauliffe refers to the report of a news-writer on the institution of the Khalsa, quoted by Ghulam Muhiyuddin, in which Guru Gobind Singh invites members of all the four castes to accept baptism of the sword and to discard the worship of Hindu deities in favour of the path shown by Guru Nanak and his successors. Macauliffe's account of the invocation of the Goddess by Guru Gobind Singh is not based on Sukha Singh or Santokh Singh but on Giani Gian Singh's *Panth Prakash*. In this account it is emphasized that Guru Gobind Singh did not adore any gods or goddesses. He agreed to invoke the Goddess to expose the Brahmans. When the Goddess did not appear, Guru Gobind Singh ordered all the materials to be thrown into the fire. A great flame shot up towards the heavens,

24. *Ibid.*, I, p. xxxii. Macauliffe pointed out that the *Ragmala* was regarded as a part of the *Madhava Nal Sangit* written in 1583 by a Muslim poet named Alam. The list of *Rags* and *Raginis* and their subdivisions given by Alam do not correspond with the *Rags* of the *Granth Sahib*: *Ibid.*, III, pp. 64-65.

25. *Ibid.*, V, p. 223.

26. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 1, 103-14, 201-06, 224 n 1 & 254.

and the people erroneously believed that the Goddess had appeared. Macauliffe finds enough of evidence in the *Akal Ustat*, *Bachittar Natak*, *Thirty-Three Savayyas*, and the *Chandi Charitar* to prove that Guru Gobind Singh was no worshipper of gods and goddesses. Macauliffe argues that *Bhagauti* in the writings of Guru Gobind Singh means the sword. Guru Gobind Singh selected Sanskrit literature for translation in order to inspire bravery and valour among his followers: 'he rendered in the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the Bhagwat with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare'. Macauliffe accepts Bhai Ditt Singh's view that these translations could at the same time demonstrate that Hindu sacred writings were inferior to the compositions of the Gurus.²⁷

Enunciation of the *rahit* continued after the institution of the Khalsa. On one such occasion Guru Gobind Singh told his Sikhs not to associate with those who worshipped Sakhi Sarvar, Gugga, or any other *pir*. Guru Gobind Singh instructed Banda in the tenets of his religion and baptized him according to the new rite. Though he continued to be known as Banda he had been given the name Gurbakhsh Singh. Macauliffe narrates the incident in which Guru Gobind Singh 'departed bodily for heaven'.²⁸ Probably the contemporary Sikhs had no objection to this idea.

Macauliffe was aware that the authenticity of the *Dasam Granth* was being debated by the contemporary Sikhs. In his view it was compiled by Bhai Mani Singh in 1734 from 'various materials'. Macauliffe's references to its contents indicate that he accepted the authenticity of the *Akal Ustat*, the *Jap*, the *Thirty-Three Savayyas*, the *Bachittar Natak* and the *Zafarnama*, but he was not sure about the translations from Sanskrit works. Selections from the *Dasam Granth* for translation show that, apart from the works mentioned above, he looked upon the *Gyan Prabodh*, remarks on the *Ram Avtar*, *Krishan Avtar* and *Parasnath Avtar*, all the *Hazare Shabad* and the *Benati Chaupai* as authentic. All the compositions are believed by Macauliffe 'to represent the Guru's own opinions and acts'. Macauliffe refers to the early Sikh view that the Persian tales (*Hikayat*) and the stories illustrating the viles of women (*Tria Charitar*) should not have been included in the *Granth*.²⁹

The crowning glory of Guru Gobind was the institution of the Khalsa and the vesting of Guruship in the Khalsa and the *Adi Granth*. Just before his death, he placed five *paisas* and the coconut before the *Granth Sahib* (the Damdami Bir) and solemnly bowed to it as his successor. He then circumambulated the sacred volume and said: 'O beloved Khalsa, let him who desired to behold me, behold the *Guru Granth*. Obey the *Granth Sahib*. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns'. At the same time, Guru Gobind Singh told the Khalsa that 'the Guru shall be the Khalsa and the Khalsa the

27. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 22 & n 1, 60-65 & 67-84, 93-94, 97 and 241.

28. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 62, 122, 458-59, 238 & 245.

29. *Ibid.*, I, pp. li-lij; V, p. 223 & n 1, pp. 260-61 & n 1.

Guru'. The mental and bodily spirit of the Guru was thus infused into 'the *Granth Sahib* and the Khalsa'.³⁰

V

Max Arthur Macauliffe's *The Sikh Religion* was meant to replace *The Adi Granth* of Ernest Trumpp. In Macauliffe's view, Trumpp's translation was 'highly inaccurate and unidiomatic', and gave 'mortal offence' to the Sikhs because of the German missionary's *odium theologicum*. 'Whenever he saw an opportunity of defaming the Gurus, the sacred book, and the religion of the Sikhs, he eagerly availed himself of it.' Macauliffe wanted to give a simple and accurate translation. He too wanted to avoid repetition in his translation but for a different reason. The Gurus used to address the people who clustered around them, and repetitions served to impress on them the instructions meant to be conveyed. In a printed work, however, repetition was not so necessary.

The aspiration to replace Trumpp's work made it all the more important for Macauliffe to ensure the acceptability of his work by the Sikh community. When he found that 'orthodox' Sikhs did not like the *Adi Granth* to be translated into English in the order of the original because of their fear that the respect which was due to the *Guru Granth* would not be accorded to the translated work, he decided to change his plan and to intersperse many of the sacred hymns in 'the lives of the Gurus. He submitted every line of his translation to 'the most searching criticism' of learned Sikhs. He was also convinced that the language of the *Adi Granth* was exceptionally difficult to master. For this reason too he had to take help from Sikh scholars.³¹

We noticed earlier that Macauliffe did not exclude supernatural elements altogether with deference to Sikh beliefs. For the same reason, partly, he includes in his narrative what may appear to be post-eventum prophecies. Guru Gobind Singh gave a written acknowledgement of debt to a Pathan, telling him that his Sikhs would pay this debt when they would come into power thirty years after his death. 'The debt was duly discharged by the Sikhs under happier and more prosperous circumstances'. Guru Tegh Bahadur had alluded to the advent of the British before his martyrdom. Guru Gobind Singh tells his Sikhs that the English would defeat the Sikhs in hard fought battles when 'the Sikhs become entangled in the love of mammon', become self-seekers, unjust and corrupt, abandon the Guru's hymns to follow Shastras and the religion of the Brahmans, and when the Sikh rulers allow their states to be governed by 'evil influences'.³²

Such prophecies could be of advantage to the colonial state. Another prophecy of Guru Gobind Singh is to the effect that, after the arrival of the English, 'in every house there shall be wealth, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house happiness'. Macauliffe quotes a Sikh writer

30. *Ibid.*, V, p. 224.

31. *Ibid.*, I, pp. xvii-xviii.

32. *Ibid.*, V, pp. 107, 240 & 245 n 1.

who underlines the loyalty of the Sikhs to their rulers even more than their unmatched bravery in the world. It may be added that Macauliffe has no hesitation in supporting the British policy of baptizing the Sikh recruits according to the rite prescribed by Guru Gobind Singh in spite of the professed civil policy of 'religious neutrality'.³³

If we compare Macauliffe's translation of the *Japji* with that of Trumpp we get the impression that he was consciously trying to improve upon the latter. Macauliffe's translation and his annotation indicate that his understanding of the original was different from that of Trumpp. The differences may appear to be small in single passages but they are nonetheless significant. In totality, the differences between them amount to two different interpretations of the Sikh tradition: its theology, its doctrines and beliefs, and its ethics.

Macauliffe mentions several advantages of his study. The administrators could formulate correct policies on the basis of a better understanding of the Sikh people. Sikh studies could throw light on 'the state of society in the Middle Ages' and, thus, be useful to the student of 'comparative theology'. Above all, a knowledge of the excellence of their religion throughout the world could serve practical as well as academic purposes, to the advantage of both the rulers and the ruled.³⁴

Macauliffe's work can be seen as reflecting the views and attitudes largely of the Sikh scholars who were associated with the Singh Sabha Movement. This can be seen in his opposition to Trumpp, his view of Sikhism as a totally independent world religion, his support for distinct Sikh identity, his advocacy of Punjabi as the official language of the province, his rejection of the current belief that Guru Gobind Singh invoked the Goddess for instituting the Khalsa, his view that Guru Gobind Singh was opposed to the worship of gods and goddesses, demons, spirits, *pirs* and cemeteries, and his view that Guru Gobind Singh vested Guruship in the *Granth* and the Panth. It must, however, be emphasized that Macauliffe was acceptable to the Sikhs primarily because his translation was closer to the original, and his interpretation of the Sikh tradition was faithful to the sources he used. His work appears to have influenced a larger number of English knowing scholars than any other publication for over a century by now.

33. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. vii-viii, xxiv, xxv & 18-20.

34. *Ibid.*, 1, pp. vii & x-xxiii.

FREEDOM STRUGGLE: A STUDY OF NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

S.D. Gajrani*

Soon after India got independence, the scholars interpreted India's freedom struggle from different points of view. In the colonial India, some scholars, who were also leaders, such as Lala Lajpat Rai, R.C. Majumdar, Pattabhi Sitaramaya.¹ Surender Nath Banerjee², C.F. Andrews, etc., had come with their writings and later on supplemented by others such as B.R. Nanda³, Bisheswar Prasad, Amlesh Tripathi⁴, Tara Chand⁵, R.C. Majumdar⁶ etc. Their works throw light on the nationalist historiography of freedom struggle of the country. As propounded of the nationalist approach, these scholars and leaders came out with an effective notion that the modern historical struggle in India developed as a unified and collective opposition based on national feelings as a whole against the British Colonial rule. The nationalist historiography was developed by the English educated class. The class was the product of new educational institutions emerged during the second half of the 19th century. The educated middle class played an important role in the creation of several organizations. This inculcated the national sentiments in India. The nationalist school, however, has been criticized with an argument that it uncritically emphasized the glorified past.⁷ Besides, it also over looked the role of various social groups in the freedom. More over, the inevitable aspect of women's participation in the movement has also been left without addressed.⁸ Another theoretical interpretation was earliest put forward by colonial administrators and Viceroys like Dufferin, Curzon, Minto and Secretary of State for India, George Hamilton, etc.;⁹ their ideas were later on developed in 1960s and 1970s by the

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1. Sitaramaya, Pattabhi, *The History of National Congress*, Vol.1, Delhi, 1946, p. 112.
2. Banerjee, Surender Nath, *A Nation in Making*, 1925 (Reprint 1985), Calcutta, p. 169.
3. Nanda, B.R., *Mahatma Gandhi- A Biography*, London, 1958, p. 238.
4. Tripathi Amlesh, *The Extremist Challenge*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 169.
5. Tarachand, *History of the Freedom Movement of India*, Vol. IV, Delhi, 1961, p. 69.
6. Mazumdar, R.C., *History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. III, Calcutta, 1972 (Reprint), p. 332.
7. Sumit Sarkar, "Popular Moments" and "Middle Class" Leadership in late Colonial India perspective and problems of a "History from Below," Calcutta, Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, 1976, p. 6.
8. Kasturi, Leela and Vina Majimdar (eds.), *Women and Indian Nationalism*, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 1-6.
9. Chandra, Bipan, *Bharat ka Swatantrata Sangram*, Delhi, 1969, pp. XVII-XVIII.

historians such as J.H. Broomfield,¹⁰ Anil Seal,¹¹ C.A. Bayly,¹² B.R. Tamilson,¹³ David Washbrook¹⁴ and Judith Brown¹⁵ who were known as the Cambridge school. Keeping in mind the understanding of nationalist movement, they not only disapproved the struggle as a freedom movement against colonial rule in principle but also rejected the very notion of the emergence of nationalism. For them, colonialism was nothing but a foreign rule. They even did not consider that India was in making as a nation. India was, for them, merely an amalgamation of various interest groups based on religions, castes and communities. They claimed that it was, in fact, a disappointed educated middle class which was using the notion, of nationalism in order to fight against British *Raj*. Moreover, they also did not approve the Indian freedom struggle as a mass movement but a national politics originated only around the needs and interests of colonial elites that trained the native population with the ethics of parliamentary democracy and then handing over power to them in gradual doses¹⁶. Some of them later identified themselves with the new 'Cambridge School' like Anil Seal, J. Gallagher, etc¹⁷. The national movement for them was merely a colonial politics aimed at defending the vested interests of organized groups that constituted educated elites. So far as the consideration of national leaders was concerned, they projected them as 'middle men'. Both of the schools viz., the Cambridge and the nationalist had similar view points at least on two aspects. One, the Indian elite led the people in the truffle and the second one was that the aspect of women's participation in this long lasting struggle was almost missing in both of the historiography. It seems that their interest rested somewhere else otherwise such as vast account of women organizations which were involved in the nationalist politics from the middle of 19th Century and sufficiently addressed women issues would have certainly be examined in their discourse in regard to women's contribution. Further, there were many instances that shed adequate light on the participation of women in the national movement by various types of their activities, be it their passive role as mothers, sisters and wives or active participation through Gandhian constructive program or overt revolutionary/militant activities against colonial rule in India. The third type of historiography whose framework is close to Marxist analysis is popularly known as the Subaltern School; that came into emergence during 1980's.¹⁸

10. J.H. Broomfield, *Elite conflict in a Plural Society: Twentieth Century*, Calcutta, 1968, p. 67.

11. Anil Seal, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Completion and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1968, p. 111.

12. C.A. Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India*, Vol.II, Cambridge, 1975, p. 168.

13. B.R. Tamilson, *Imperialism, Nationalism and Politics: The Indian National Congress, 1934-42*, (Ph.D Thesis) Cambridge University, 1976 (see for details).

14. David Washbrook, *The Emergence of Provincial Politics: Madras Presidency 1870-1920*, Cambridge University, 1976, p. 113.

15. Judith Brown, *Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatama in India's Politics, 1928-34*, London, 1977, p. 129.

16. Thapar Suruch-Bjokert, *Women in Indian National Movement*, Delhi, 1969, p.41.

17. Gallagher, J.Johnson, G. Seal, (ed.), *Locality, Province and Nation*, Cambridge, 1973, p. 11.

18. Thapar Suruchi, *op.cit.*, p. 42.

The intellectual discourse made by various scholars including Gyanendra Pandey,¹⁹ Ranjit Guha,²⁰ S. Henningham,²¹ Shahid Amin,²² David Hardiman not only dismissed all the previous historical writings as elitist, mechanical or over materialistic, but focused on 'marginal' and non-elitist groups and their 'autonomous' resistance at various stages in the Indian nationalist politics.²³ As per their findings, neither Indian masses came together as a joint venture against the Imperial rule nor the Indian National movement as such ever developed. This school rather divided the struggle into two different groups: the elite and subaltern. Within the 'elite' sphere, it drew on a distinction between foreign (British) and indigenous elite groups (feudal princes/aristocracies, Congress leaders and other leaders). It further laid emphasis (while making observation of the national struggle) on the real anti imperialist struggle made subaltern Indian masses on the one hand and the so called i.e. fake struggle of elite class on the other. In this way, it has rightly been observed that this school, somehow, seems to get closed with the new Cambridge school with an extended view point.²⁴

The Marxist historians have also dealt with the national movement of India. Having started with the discourse of A.R. Desai²⁵ and Rajni Palm Dutt,²⁶ this framework was developed later on by Bipan Chandra and his students. Contrary to the imperialist school, they do consider the long lasting struggle as freedom struggle of Indian masses along with emerging nationalism against colonial rule. However, their interest rests more in the growing awareness of class consciousness among various interest groups and working class politics centering round peasants' agitations and trade unionism of industrial workers. Moreover, beside other three schools of thought, they have also broadly kept themselves away from uncovering the contribution of women in the freedom movement of India.

The present paper or attempt aims at understanding the contribution of all sections of women towards the freedom struggle of Indian in accordance with the nationalist approach. As the available sufficient research material required examining their role as per different streams, the present paper is a humble attempt to examine how the women and students, played a vital role in the same context. Whether they were part of urban educated elite class or illiterate traditions bound

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19. G. Pandey, *The Ascendancy of the Congress in Uttar Pradesh, 1926-34, A Study in Imperfect Mobilization*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1978, p. 156.
 20. Ranjit Guha, *On some Aspects of Historiography in Colonial India*, In Ranjit Guha edited, *Subaltern Studies 1: Writings on South Asian History and Society*, New Delhi 1982, pp. 116-20.
 21. S. Henningham, *Quit India in Bihar and Eastern United Province: The Dual Revolt*, in Ranjit Guha (ed.) *Subaltern Studies VI*, New Delhi 1983, pp. 69-72.
 22. Sahin Amin, *Gandhi as Mahatma*, Gorakhpur District, Eastern U.P. 1922-23, in Ranjit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies No. III Writings on South Asian History and Politics*, New Delhi, 1969, pp. 82-83.
 23. David Hardiman, 'Organize and Transformation of the Devil' in Ranjit Guha (ed.), *Subaltern Studies Readers*, 1986-95, Delhi, pp. 70-71.
 24. Bipan Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. XVIII.
 25. A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1959, p. 70.
 26. Rajni Palm Dutt, *India Today*, Delhi, 1949, pp. 69-70.

or patriarchy bound rural women all of their multifaceted activities have been thoroughly analyzed. Besides, the peasant women, the landless labor class women as well as women working as laborers in Industries have undergone a critical examination so far as their commitment to the saga of sacrifice and participation in the freedom struggle is concerned. Till the early decades of the nineteenth century, there was hardly any socio-political awakening in the country. A number of social ills like child marriage, female infanticide, *pardah*, *sati*, dowry, prohibition of widow remarriage, indignities suffered by widows, etc. had started manifesting in all their ugliness. Further, lack of education among women made matters worse. The basic idea behind giving education to women was to establish on a firm footing, the traditional notions of feminist.²⁷ Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of *Brahmo Samaj* in 1828 at Calcutta was the first social reformer in modern India who championed the cause of women. As an advocate of equality between men and women, he openly spoke that women were not a weaker sex and in no way inferior to men morally and intellectually. He protested against evils like early marriage, polygamy and supported female education, widow remarriage and inter-cast marriage. He, in fact, wanted that women should enjoy the rights of her tranche and property.²⁸ It was all due to his serious efforts that Lord William Bentinck declared the practice of *sati* as illegal and punishable offence in November 1829²⁹. Further, the leaders of *Brahmo Samaj* were also instrumental in enactment of *Brahmo Marriage*. Moreover, the first social organization established schools for the education of girls and also raised the voice in favour of widow remarriage and against polygamy and *pardah*.

The next prominent reformer was Swami Dayanand Saraswati. He established *Arya Samaj* with a purpose to restore the *Vedic* socio-religious order. On its main objective Lala Lajpat Rai's (a prominent freedom fighter and a truly *Arya Samajist* of northern India) statement may be quoted, "who favoured for giving equal opportunities to all persons, men and women to acquire knowledge and to qualify themselves for whatever position in life they would fill. It admitted right of every person to choose his or her environment, fight it out, and rise as high in the scale of humanity as he or she could".³⁰ While opening schools for both girls and boys it started a crusade against mass illiteracy. As co-education did not find favour with its ideology, *Gurukuls* were separately opened for girls.³¹

Besides, the *Arya Samaj* advocated for banning against the child marriage and expensive ceremonies as well as pomp and show at marriage time. It also did not approve widow remarriage. However, the *Arya Samajists* favoured the opening of widow-homes where they would take vocational training,³² while condemning

27. Anoop Taneja, *Gandhi, Women and National Movement: 1920-47*, Delhi, 1962, pp. 17-18.

28. Radha Krishan Sharma, *Nationalism, Social reforms and Indian Women*, Delhi, 1969, p.22.

29. *Ibid.*, pp.21-22.

30. Lala Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj*, Lahore, 1939, p.138.

31. Manmohan Kaur, *op.cit.*, p.77.

32. *Ibid.*, p.78.

purdah the *Samaj* made provisions that the women could be on any administrative or general body of this organization.

Thus, by rephending all the social evils and making the educational environment available, the *Arya Samaj* paved a way for women to play an important role in the socio-religious and political life of the country.³³ Swami Vivekanand popularized the teachings of Ram Krishna Paramahansa. He was an ardent and brilliant disciple of the latter. He influenced the people immensely both in India as well as abroad. Swami Vivekanand founded number of *Vedantic* Societies in India and America.³⁴ Rama Krishan Mission opened a number of hospitals including a few maternity centers. Schools were also opened for both boys and girls. Swami Vivekanand had asked his disciple Nivedita for education of girls and to improve their conditions. The women became political conscious of their importance through the centers opened all over India. As a consequence, the women got enlightened and started to infuse their sons and daughters with spirit of dedication, sufferings and sacrifice.³⁵

Prarthana Samaj was founded by Mahadeva Govind Ranade in Poona region, with an aim of emancipation of women. He inculcated the logical ideas among women as a mission so that the traditional and orthodox Hindu customs could be weeded out that kept them lagging behind for a long period. He started his reformatory program through his young wife whom he taught to serve her people and country.³⁶ Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) was also prominently known for his ardent efforts for social advancement in the history of modern India. The reforms dealing with widow remarriage and the education of girls were successfully carried out by him. He was also largely responsible for helping the government to find the first girls school in Calcutta in 1849. It was due to his efforts that forty girls' schools came into existence in Bengal during 1855-1858. Besides, the enactment of the Government Act-I of 1856 legalizing the remarriage of Hindu widows was also made by his un-tiring and continuous hard work.³⁷

Owing to the thriving institutions, the development occurred in educational fields resulting in the emergence of educated middle class during the second half of the 19th century. The emergence of educated middle class and its engagements with social reforms activities led to the development of the feelings of nationalism on the one hand and anti-British sentiments on the other. It did not develop all of a sudden, but grew through an interaction cum learning process, which was carried on by both the individuals of Indian elite class who happened to visit

33. *Ibid.*

34. Shri Devi, *A Century of Indian Womanhood*, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 33-34.

35. Manmohan Kaur, *op.cit.*, p.82-83; *Role of Women in the Freedom Movement: 1857-1947*, Sterling Publishers, Delhi, 1968.

36. Rambai Ranade (ed.), *Justice M.G. Ranade's Miscellaneous Writings*, Delhi, 1969, p.9.

37. Shri Devi, *op.cit.*, pp. 30-31.

European countries and by various organizations in the last decades of 19th century.

For the inception of women's organization in Bengal was concerned, the lead was taken by Swarn Kumari Devi, sister of Rabinder Nath Tagore. She was the first lady who formed the *Sakhti Samiti* in 1882 at Calcutta. Subsequently, it became a craft center for widows.³⁸ Pandit Ramabai Saraswati founded Sharda Sadan at Poona in 1892 to provide education and employment for women. Later on the activities of this organization were extended to provide relief to the orphans, the destitute and victims of the famines. The girls began to expand learning to appreciate the cult of service and sacrifice which Ramabai inculcated.³⁹ *Seva Sadan* was another organization which was founded by Ramabai Ranade in 1909 at Poona. This organization aimed at imparting education to women and training them in industry, teaching, nursing and midwifery. It also established a hostel. In 1917, it became an independent registered organization.

Shri Zorostrian Mandal was started in 1903 at Bombay with an object to help the women in general and the *Parsi* women in particular. It laid emphasis on women to become economically independent.⁴⁰ Similarly, *Gujrati Hindu Stree Mandal* which was formed by B.N. Motiwala in 1908 at Bombay. It worked in with an object to promote contact with *Gujrati* women in order to provide them appropriate education and to raise their status in different walks of life or fields. Besides, it organized classes in sewing, embroidery, painting, leather work and imparting training to teachers. It also developed library for women and children.⁴¹ Sarojini Nalini organized *Mahila Samitis* in many districts, towns and villages of Bengal with a view to impart education to women. This organization worked against *pardah*, early marriage and encouraged widow remarriage. They also enlightened the common masses in respect of health and sanitation and raised a voice for equal rights to women in franchise and education.⁴²

In Baroda, 'Chiman Bai Maternity and Child Welfare League' was established in 1914 for the sake of health of women. *Bhaginin Samaj* was founded in Poona in 1916 to serve the society in general and women as well as children in particular.⁴³ It emphasized on the programs like education, social service, propaganda and legal works.⁴⁴ Several branches of *Mahila Seva Samaj* were also established in Mysore and Poona in the year 1913 and 1916 respectively. An all India organization constituted in 1917⁴⁵ was the first Women's Indian Association (WIA).⁴⁶ Annie Besant, Margaret Cousin and Dorothy Jinarajadasa were its' founding members.

38. Anoop Taneja, *op.cit.*, p. 37

39. Padmaini Sen Gupta, *Pandit Ramabai Saraswati*, Delhi, 1967, p.228.

40. Neera Desai, *Woman in Modern India*, Bombay, 1966, p. 158.

41. *Ibid.*, p.161.

42. K.N. Venkatarayappa, *Feminine Roles*, Madras, 1969, p.42.

43. Neera Desai, *op.cit.*, p.158.

44. *Ibid.*, p.15.

45. Anoop Taneja, *op.cit.*, pp. 37-38.

46. R.K. Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.107.

By 1922-24, the association had 51 branches and 2500 membership in India.⁴⁷ Another prominent women organization 'The National Council of Women in India' (NCWI) was organized in 1925. Another major women's organization to have been established in post World War- I was the All Indian Women's Conference (AIWC). Established in 1927, it worked significantly to elevate the status of women and bring about a change in their legal and constitutional rights.⁴⁸

A number of women's journals mainly in *Hindi* came out in early years of the 20th century. These issues included female education, child marriage, mismatched marriage, polygamy, *purdah*, female backwardness etc.⁴⁹ Rameshwari Nehru, who had started *Stree Darpan* in 1909; another important magazine introduced in 1909 was *Grahlakshmi*.⁵⁰

Sarswati and *Madhuri* were also two main journals which were edited by male journalists. And another women oriented journal was *Mahila Sarvasi* published by Devdutt Sharma and *Chand* which was first published from Allahabad in 1922. Its editors were Ramrikh Sehgal and Ramkrishan Mukand Laghate, while Vidyavati Sehgal was its manager.⁵¹

From the inception of Indian National Congress (1885), its membership was open to women also. Allan Octavian Hume even went ahead asking for all shades of opinion never to forget that unless the evaluation of the female element of the nation preceded *parsi prassrue* (with an equal place) with their work, all their labour of the political enfranchisement of the country would prove vain.⁵² For the first time, ten women who attended the fourth session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1889,⁵³ among them, the women were Swarna Kumari Devi, sister of Rabinder Nath Tagore, Pandita Ramabai an *Arya Samajist* of Poona. The former being an enlightened women had already started *Shakti Samiti* in 1886.⁵⁴

Sarla Devi Chaudhurani, daughter of Swarna Kumari, who was to take an active part in the nationalist movement in the years to compose a song urging the people to different provinces of the country to join the freedom struggle. Interestingly the same song was sung in chorus at Congress session in 1901.⁵⁵ Similarly the proceedings of the 1902 session of the Congress at Ahmedabad commenced with the singing of National anthem by Lady Vidyagarui Nilkanth and her sister Sharda Mehta.⁵⁶

47. *Ibid.*, p.109.

48. Anoop, Taneja, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

49. Jana Matson Everett, *Women and Social Change in India*, London, 1956, p.75.

50. Anoop Taneja, *op.cit.*, p.39.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

52. Basu, Aparna, *The Role of Women in the Indian Struggle for Freedom*, (ed.), B.R. Nanda, *Indian Women From Purdah to Modernity*, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 16-17

53. *Ibid.*, p.17.

54. *Ibid.*

55. B.B. Mazumdar and B.P. Mazumdar, *Congress and Congressmen in the Pre-Gandhian Era*, Calcutta, 1968, p.128.

56. *Ibid.*

The decision for the partition of Bengal was announced by the Government on 20th July 1905 first time galvanized the common people including women into political action. In September 1905, Rabindra Nath Tagore announced his plan for observing *Rakhi Bandhan* on the 'Partition Day' i.e. 16 October. Women also took "non-cooking day" as suggested by Ramendra Sunder Trivedi.⁵⁷ Thereafter, the notion of boycotting the British Goods by a revolutionary Shyamji Krishna Verma, who published the same idea in his own Journal- *Indian Sociologist* in October 1905.⁵⁸ The movement in the way started with boycott of foreign goods and was soon widened to boycott of persons using British goods. As a consequence, *Swaraj Swadeshi* and national Education became the slogans of the nationalists. In Bengal, Sarla Devi, a niece of Rabindra Nath Tagore, opened an emporium called Lakshmi Bhandar in Calcutta. The women active in the same movement outside Bengal were Mrs. Ketkar (Daughter of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Mrs. A. V. Joshi in Bombay, Smt. Sushila Devi and Purani in Punjab.⁵⁹ Smt. Sarojini Bose wife of Tara Parsana Bose, pledged not to put Gold bangles.⁶⁰ Sister Nivedita who was also a great source of inspiration to many young men and women visited Court in 1907 to stand surety for release of Bhupendra Nath Dutt, youngest brother of Swami Vivekanand, who was arrested for sedition as editor of *Yugantar*. He was subsequently, convicted to one year rigorous imprisonment.⁶¹ Another eminent lady was Kumudini Mitra (daughter of Kristo Mitra, a renewed nationalist) also organized a group of educated *Brahmin* ladies in order to make a liaison among different revolutionaries. It also propagated and preached the cause of the revolutionaries through *Suprabhat*, a Bengali Magazine.⁶²

The Punjabi women did not lag behind in making their contribution during the national movement. Sushila Devi of Sialkot was the first lady who delivered a series of lectures in which she attacked the government policies. Purani, a prominent *Arya Samajist* of Hissar, toured various districts of Punjab for the advocacy of the cause of *Swadeshi*.⁶³ Another woman Har Devi (wife of Roshan Lal, Barrister of Lahore) was a social worker and editor of *Hindi Magazine*. The *Bharat Bhagini* also joined the rank of the political workers. She not only took the responsibility of arranging meetings for revolutionaries but also of fund collection for their multiple activities.⁶⁴ The involvement of women in *Swadeshi* movement was testified by Mrs. Ramsay Macdonald who visited India at that time.⁶⁵

Owing to anti-partition movement of Bengal within and outside of the province as well as the emerging popularity of *Swadeshi* and boycotting foreign

57. *Women in Colonial India*, London, 1966, p.32.

58. Aruna Asaf Ali, *Resurgence of India Woman*, Calcutta, 1973, p. 73.

59. *Ibid.*

60. Manmohan Kaur, *op.cit.*, p.96.

61. *Ibid.*, p.102.

62. *Ibid.*, p.97.

63. Home (Deptt.) Political Secret No. 48 March, 1908, NAI, New Delhi.

64. Home (Deptt.) Political Confidential 161-168 of 25 May, 1908, NAI, New Delhi.

65. Aparna Basu, *op.cit.*, p.18.

goods, despite the dominance of moderates in Congress, the British Government was forced to retreat. Significantly, the emerging trend of revolutionary activities and the entry of some daring leaders in Congress like B.G. Tilak and Lajpat Rai also played a decisive role in the same context.⁶⁶ As a result on the recommendations of Lord Hardinge who replaced Minto as Viceroy towards the close of 1910, the annulment of partition was announced for the sake of restoration of peace. It was made on the occasion of the visit of the British King and Queen, George V and Mary for Delhi *Darbar* held in December 1911.⁶⁷ The Women entered into politics of agitation only during the First World War. This was made possible only by a new woman's organization and the recruitment of women to the existing political organizations.⁶⁸ The entry of Mrs. Annie Besant in to Indian politics in 1914, her elevation to be the President of Congress and women's Indian association accelerated the process of bringing women into national politics.⁶⁹ Her activities were seen a threat to the government and she was asked to leave the country. On her refusal, she was interned. However, it was due to widespread protests that got her released by August 1917. Similarly, Sarojini Naidu's role at that juncture, whereas women's participation in political activities was at large number, was remarkable in the same context. While justifying women's uplift both of dynamic and bold ladies appealed to ancient Indian ideals wherein Annie Besant characterized ancient Indian Women as "Cast in Heroic mold".⁷⁰ They side by side aimed at improvement in the status of women. For them, the decline of Indian civilization was linked up with the decline in the status of women. Naidu explained, "When women lost their self reverence, degeneration set in."⁷¹ The improvement in the status of women was necessary for India to achieve greatness once more.

Sarojini Naidu, was the first Indian woman to join politics at initiation of Gopal Krishan Gokhle whom she considered her *Guru*. It was on his persuasion that she had joined Congress.⁷² In December 1901 she attended Congress session at Bombay as a United Provinces delegate. There she supported a resolution of self government. Further, as a member of Home Rule league she led a deputation of women to England consisting of Mrs. Annie Besant, Mrs. Herabai Ardesher Tata, Miss Mithan Ardesher Tata, and Edwin Montague as members. They presented a memorandum to the British Government asking for voting rights for women.⁷³

Gandhi's arrival in India was a turning point in India's Struggle for freedom. After a conditional support given to Muslims in *Khilafat* agitation in 1916, he brought them to Congress, as an instrument, for Hindu-Muslim unity. The *Satyagrah* movement for the first time was launched by him on 6th April 1919.

66. Aruna Asif Ali, *op.cit.*, pp. 73-74.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Forbes Geraldine, *op.cit.*, pp.33.

69. *Ibid.*, p.34.

70. Annie Besant, *Besant Spirit*, Madras, 1969, p.114.

71. G.A. Natesan (ed.), *Speeches and Writings of Sarojini Naidu*, Madras, 1925, p. 59.

72. Aparna Basu. *op.cit.*, p.19.

73. *Ibid.*

The passing of the repressive Rowlett Bills by the British Government which aimed at prohibiting public protest and suspending civil liberties⁷⁴ were in fact, responsible for the lurching of Non-Cooperation Movement. The movement was based on six points namely: (i) to boycott law court by the lawyers and to set up popular tribunals for administering justice; (ii) to boycott of schools and college owned or aided by the Government, and the establishment of national education institutions; (iii) to boycott of elections; (iv) to surrender of honors and titles; (v) to boycott the British Goods and encourage the use of *Swadeshi* and (vi) to launch a temperance campaign to wean addicts from liquor.⁷⁵

In the beginning, the first non-cooperation movement was non-violent but slowly it became violent. It was faster in Punjab; it attracted the government to proclaim martial law in the province.⁷⁶ As a result, the event of *Jallianwalla Bagh* at Amritsar took place. Some four hundred people were shot dead and twelve hundred were injured (including women and children); thus, the people were humiliated in various ways as reported by the Hunter enquiry Committee Report.⁷⁷ In retaliation, there was an outbreak of violence in different parts of the country in the form of arson, looting an even assault on Englishmen. Gandhi was left greatly pained at these incidents, and on 18 April 1919, he postponed his *Satyagraha* campaign. He candidly admitted that his decision to launch the *Satyagraha* campaign was a "Himalayan miscalculation" because the masses were not prepared for this. A special session of the Indian national Congress was held at Calcutta on 4 September 1920 where a resolution for non-violent Non-cooperation was adopted. It was confirmed at the regular annual session of the Congress at Nagpur in December of the same year.⁷⁸ Gandhi was all aware of women as passive resistors in both earlier agitations in South Africa and also in textile mill workers' strike in Ahmedabad. He invited the women to join Non-Cooperation Movement. Addressing public meetings in different parts of the country, he also appealed to them to donate their jewellery for the collection of Tilak *Swaraj* fund. In his speeches he compared the British rule to '*Ravana-Rajya*' and said as Sita did not co-operate *Ravana*, so the Indian people must not co-operate with the *Rakshas-Sarkar*.⁷⁹

The women in Bengal joined the Non-Cooperation Movement through the constructive program. A number of girls of Diocesan College gave up their studies; they joined the movement on hearing the speech of Gandhi in Calcutta in 1920 as recalled by Renuka Ray. Some of them donated their bangles and jewellery to Gandhi as he asked them for the national cause. Thereafter, they took to spinning, used and sold *Khaddar*. Not only had this but they also organized *Mahila Karma*

74. Anoop Taneja, *op.cit.*, p.79.

75. Aruna Asaf Ali, *op.cit.*, p.86.

76. Manmohan Kaur, *op.cit.*, pp. 147-148.

77. *Ibid.*

78. Radha Krishana Sharma, *op.cit.*, p. 60.

79. Aparna Basu, *op.cit.*, pp. 20-21.

Samaj of Bengal Provincial Congress committee to carry out propaganda and conservative work amongst the women of Bengal.⁸⁰ The prominent women including Inder Prabha Majumdar and Radu Bibi organized and addressed the meetings in the same context.⁸¹ Similarly Annie Basant, Mrs. C.R. Dass, Urmila Devi and Suniti Devi organizers of *Nari Karma Mandir* (women worker's abode), where for the first ladies offered civil resistance to the government. As a result, they were arrested on the charge of 'obstructing the gentlemen of Calcutta' by compelling or influencing them to buy *khadi*.⁸² The others who were arrested with them were Satya Devi and also eight Sikh ladies from Punjab. They were, however, released in the evening.⁸³

In the metropolitan city of Bombay, women joined the Non-Co-operation campaign. They strengthened the movement through meetings wherein emphasis was laid on the importance of spinning, organization of *Khadi Melas* and holding of demonstrations, etc were popularized. Among the various women who played significant role in Bombay were Avantika Bai Gokhle, Sarojini Naidu, etc. The former remained active during the period 1920-1946 and were imprisoned several times. She started *Hindu Mahila Sangh* in order to bring about nationalism among women.⁸⁴ Sarojini Naidu played an important role addressing a number of meetings during the *Satyagraha* week (06-13 April 1921) with the object of associating women in large number with the constructive program of *Swadeshi*. On the last day of the week, about 500 women were present to hear the speech of Sarojini Naidu.⁸⁵ Other prominent women who made efforts to popularize the constructive program in Bombay were Principal Goshiben Captain, the *Patit* women, Jajji Jehangir and Mithuben, the Faizin sister, women from Tyabji family, Manekbai Bahadurji, etc. These prominent women were closely associated with some of the established women's organizations of Bombay like *Bhagini Samaj*, the *Gujarati Hindu Stree Mandal*, *Hind Mahila Samaj*. Some other women's organizations which came into being in 1921 in Bombay were *Shri Sarada Samaj* of Dadar which played an important role because of their association with the Congress.⁸⁶

It was Punjab where Gandhi had called British rule as *satanic* government (devil's rule) in his speeches during his visit. Owing to his charismatic personality not only men but women in large number also joined Non-cooperation Movement. The first women's meeting was held on 6-7 December 1922, which was presided over by Kasturba Gandhi. Radha Devi (wife of Lala Lajpat Rai) was the chairperson of the Reception Committee.

80. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 7 July, 1922.

81. *Ibid.*

82. *Ibid.*, 10 January, 1922.

83. *Ibid.*

84. Usha Bala, *Indian Women Freedom Fighters: 1857-1947*, Delhi, 1964, pp. 98-99.

85. Forbes Geraldine, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

86. Anoop Taneja, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

In her address, she declared that the object of the conference was to strike a net of warn being to the idlers who were sitting with folded hands when the leaders were undergoing imprisonment. She exhorted women to support the *Swaraj* with zeal and courage which were the characteristics of the Punjab women.⁸⁷ Parvati Devi, an ardent worker of the Congress was arrested in Meerut for the so called inflaming speeches. She was taken to Agra jail. As a mark of respect, the ladies took out procession on 16 December 1922. She was convicted and was sentenced to two year imprisonment. Sarla Devi Chaudhrani, settled in Lahore after her marriage, was so influenced by Gandhian ideology during 1919-22 that she left the revolutionary path and became an ardent and dedicated worker of Gandhian program. She donated most of her jewellery for the nationalist cause and even returned the Padmavati Gold medal conferred upon her by Calcutta University. She made an extensive tour in various parts of northern India in order to popularize the concept of *Charkha* and *khadi*.⁸⁸ All the above mentioned ladies went a long way in binding the *Punjabi* women together at the emotional level. This may be testified from the fact that when Gandhi visited Jalandhar in early 1921, the welcome address presented to him was printed on a piece of *Khadi* supplied by the aged mother of a prominent lawyer of the city, Nazimuddin Shah.⁸⁹ It is significant to note that popularization of *Swadeshi* concept did not remain confine to big cities only. In fact, its influence was felt in smaller towns as well. At Karnal, an exhibition of *Khadi* was organized and prizes were awarded to the *Khadi* manufacturers. Moreover, about 3000 women wearing *Khadi* dresses walked through the streets of Multan along with a cartful of *Khadi* which they sold during the course of their unique march.⁹⁰ Expressing great satisfaction over the success of Non-Cooperation campaign, Gandhi praised the women of Punjab observing that the '*Punjabi* women had understood his message.'⁹¹

The Non-Cooperation Movement became immensely popular among women of Gujrat also. The women associated with Gandhi's *Ashram*, in fact, contributed a great deal in making it popular in several towns, cities and villages of Gujrat.⁹² Among the *Ashram* Women, Ansuyaben, Sarabhai (Sister of Ambalal Sarabhai, leading mill owner of Ahmedabad) who had been active in social service since 1914 played an important role in popularization of constructive program. Along with Kasturba, Ansuyabhen and some other '*Ashram* Sisters' impressed upon the women the significance of spinning *Charkha*, wearing of *Khadi*, boycott of government educational institutions, removal of untouchability and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity. Further, under Gandhi's inspiration, several girl students left government schools and colleges. Prominent among them were Manibhen Patel

87. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 9 December, 1922.

88. *Ibid*, 17 December, 1922.

89. Anoop Taneja, *op.cit.*, p.. 100.

90. *The Tribune*, 1 October, 1921 and 21 January, 1922.

91. *Collected Works of Mahatama Gandhi*, Vol. XVII, pp. 31-32.

92. Mahadev Desai, *Day to Day with Gandhi*, Vol. III, Bombay, 1961, p.108.

and Miss Desai whose efforts were hailed by Gandhi in public.⁹³

In many of the women's meetings, they showed their generosity by donating jewellery and cash for the noble cause. Gandhi was so moved by such generous acts of the Women that after a meeting at Ahmedabad, he stated that their action was more sacred than donations worth *lac* of rupees came from millionaires. There was an aroma of the very soul of the women of Ahmedabad in every brass piece given there. Every coin was stepped with their devotion for the country. It was on the bases of such sacred coins that he would be able to erect the edifice of *Swaraj*.⁹⁴

Gandhi's visit to Vijaywada (Andhra Pradesh) in 1921 in regard to all India Congress meeting was decisive. The speeches, in fact, made by him on the occasion proved to be a big source of inspiration for women to participate in Non-Cooperation Movement. Suibbamma being influenced by his magnetic personality became the first woman of the region to participate and was sent behind bars. She also succeeded in motivating other women of the region to participate in the freedom struggle. Her efforts were hailed by the local Newspaper *Sudarshini* which gave the following report: "We Congratulate Subbamma for her patriotism and courage to go to jail. We (the women) have greater tenacity of purpose than men. We hope that Andhra women will adopt *Swadeshi* at least now that they have heard of the heroism and conviction of Subbamma."⁹⁵

Durga Bai was another woman of Godawari district who started her political carrier at the tender age of eleven; she also joined the movement because of Gandhi's influence. Gandhi held a meeting at Rajahmundry on 6 April 1921 which was attended by her also as she happened to be present in that city in connection with the wedding of one of her close relatives. While climbing at the dais, she not only offered her collection to Gandhi but she also readily parted with her golden bracelets too as demanded by Gandhi on the same occasion.⁹⁶ However, in 1922, Gandhi called off the Non-Cooperation movement, all of a sudden taking all concerned by surprise. But despite the suspension of the movement, "the atmosphere in this area remained charged and women continued to conduct meetings to popularize *Khadi* and the concept of the abolition of untouchability, the two most important agendas of Gandhi's constructive program."⁹⁷

The *Swarajya* movement in Orissa took a start after the first meeting of Gandhi at Cuttack on 23 March 1921 wherein he addressed a big public meeting on the bank of Kathuri River on the outskirts of the town.⁹⁸ In the afternoon on the same day, he addressed a separate small gathering of about 40 women in Binod

93. *Young India*, 29 September, 1920.

94. Mahadev Desai, *op.cit.*, p.35.

95. *Sudarsini*, 16 July, 1922, Cited in Leela Kasturi and Vina Mazumdar (ed.), *Women and Indian Nationalism*, Calcutta, 1952, p.113.

96. Atluri Murali, "Changing Perceptions and Radicalism of the National Movement in Andhra, 1922-1934", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 16, No. 8, pp. 8-10.

97. Leela Kasturi and Vina Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

98. *Samaj*, 28 March, 1921.

Behari building premises. Haimavati Devi made all the arrangements for that meeting and Mohini Mohan Senapati's wife sang a patriotic song on the occasion. Thus from the very beginning Gandhi's Congress activities had an important impact on the women in Orissa.⁹⁹ In the early phase of Non-Cooperation movement, the provincial leaders laid emphasis on the establishment of national schools, enrolment of Congressmen and collection of subscription for Tilak *Swaraj* Fund.¹⁰⁰

As a consequence, the *Satyavadi* School of Gopal Bandhu Das (a prominent Orriyan Congress leader) and the Chakradharpur high School were converted into national Schools. Besides, National schools were also established at Sambhalpur, Jagatsinghpur, Bhadrak, Balasore, and Soro.¹⁰¹ Not only that but a type of National University- known as *Utkal Swarajya Shiksha Parishad* was also founded at Cuttack.¹⁰²

Some counters were also opened to train workers and volunteers for the movement. For example, "*Swaraj Ashram*" at Cuttack (headquarter) *Alkashram* at Jagat Singhpur under Gopal Bandhu Choudhary and "*Swaraj Mandir*" at Balasore under the guidance of H.K. Mehtab, etc were founded. Gradually, the Congress ideals and the message of Non-Cooperation spread like wild fire in different parts of Orissa. A newspaper *Samaj* also played significant role in taking movement to the remote corners of far-off villages.¹⁰³

Rama Devi being inspired by his uncle Madhusudan Das's ideas and speeches took a lead in popularizing the *Charkha* work. She also took the message of *Swaraj* and *Khaddar* program to other women and prepared them for the national cause. Another prominent lady was Kuntala Kumari Sabat who proved her to be a true follower of Gandhi. When many people began hiding spinning wheels on the threat of circular issued by government on boycotting foreign clothes she rose to the occasion. Kuntala Kumari challenged the authority in these words, "Nation is our strength, and *Charkha* is our life. We will hold *Charkhas* in our hand and we will destroy all the conspiracy of the enemy." With these words, she started creating a new awareness.¹⁰⁴ In 1922, Rama Devi along with Padmavati Devi and Hiramani Devi attended the annual session of Indian national Congress held at Gaya.¹⁰⁵

Among Muslim ladies, the name of Abida Bano Begum, popularly known as Bai Aman, mother of Ali brothers Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali) stood foremost. While making an extensive tour, she preached the message of *Khadi* and Hindu Muslim unity during the *Khilafat* Movement and Non-Cooperation Movement.¹⁰⁶ In a meeting at Simla in September 1922, she made a special appeal to the women

99. V. Rajendra Raju, *Role of Women in India's Freedom Struggle*, Madras, 1964, pp. 29-30.

100. *Samaj*, 28 March, 1921, p. 101.

101. V. Rajendra Raju, *op.cit.*, p.31.

102. *Young India*, 2 March, 1921.

103. V. Rajendra Raju, *op.cit.*, pp. 31-32.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

105. R.C. Mazumdar, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1969, p.178.

106. Aparna Basu, *op.cit.*, p.2.

to take up *Khaddar*. She was keen to visit the frontier province but orders were issued whereby she was kept away from that area.¹⁰⁷ In another meeting in Punjab, she confidently spoke in favour of *Swaraj*. She said that some people had left houses, their wives and children after their death but she was of the opinion that there was nothing as good as freedom and asked women to leave *Swaraj* after their death for children. She even challenged that *Swaraj* could not be achieved by asking but was sure to come if people had courage and women a heart make sacrifices for the cause.¹⁰⁸

Bai Aman addressed another women's conference at Bombay which six *lac* people attended. At another meeting at Ahmedabad she appealed to the people to unite for "without co-operation among the different communities, we can't liberate our country or live peaceful and honorable lives."¹⁰⁹ She also worked in *Khilafat* Movement wherein she asked Muslim women to give up *Purdah*.¹¹⁰ In spite of all the above discussed cases dealing with women's contribution to the Non-Cooperation Movement, their participation was not at a mass scale; it was mainly confined to those, whose husbands, brothers and sons had already joined the struggle and were in jails. However, it could not be denied that the Indian women made a contribution to the first phase of Gandhian movement i.e. Non Cooperation campaign as it was first movement organized under the official leadership of the Congress and Gandhi. Both these words 'Congress and Gandhi' became synonymous in the consequent period.

107. *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, 2 September, 1922.

108. *Ibid.*, 12 December, 1922.

109. *Ibid.*, 5 January, 1922.

110. Radha Krishan Sharma, *op.cit.*, p.62.

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES : A PARAMETER TO GAUGE NATIVE RESPONSE TO WESTERN MEDICINE IN COLONIAL PUNJAB (1850-1900)

Gagandip Cheema*

Hospital is place where sick people are admitted for proper medical treatment whereas dispensary is an out-patient department where sick are examined and medicines are distributed to them. In India, the earliest reference to hospital is found in the Jain scriptures in which the word *tigicchaya-sala* is used.¹ *Tigicchaya-sala* is the Prakrit equivalent of Sanskrit *cikitsakasala* which means 'hall of healers'². Fa-hien, the Chinese traveller who visited India at the very beginning of fifth century A.D., when the Gupta Empire was at its zenith, gave a clear description of a hospital in the true sense of the term in his travelogue. He writes that

"The heads of the *Vaisya* (merchant) families in them (all the Kingdoms of north India) establish in the cities houses for dispensing charity and medicine. All the poor and destitute in the country, orphans and widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get the food and medicines which their cases require and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves".³

G.B.Risse, in his book '*Mending Bodies, Saving Souls, a History of Hospitals*' argues that the earliest documented institutions aiming to provide cures for ancient Egyptian were temples;⁴ whereas Romans believed that they were the first to construct buildings called *Valetudinaria* for the care of sick slaves, gladiators and

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1. J.C. Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in Jain Canons*, New Book Company, Bombay, 1947, p.179.
2. A.L. Basham, "The Practice of Medicine in Ancient and Medieval India" in *Asian Medical System: A Comparative Study*, (ed.) Charles Leslie, Univ. of California Press, 1976, p.34.
3. S. Beal, *Chinese Account of India*, 4 Vols. Calcutta: Susil Gupta (Indian reprint of *Si- Yu- Ki — Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 Vols. London; Kegan Paul, Trench trubnes, 1883, 1957, p.35.
4. G.B.Risse, *Mending Bodies, Saving Souls, a History of Hospitals*, Oxford Uni. Press, 1990, p.35.

soldiers around 100B.C.⁵ But the description of civil hospital given by Fa-hien indicates that India was, perhaps, the first country in the world to evolve an organised cosmopolitan system of institutionally-based medical provisions.

Early British settlers in India found it hard to cope with diseases peculiar to the Indian environment and they mostly relied on the prescriptions of local *vaid*s and *hakims*. Because of the limitations of indigenous medical therapy, the British authorities in India decided to promote allopathy as an alternative system of medicine. As *vaid*s and *hakims* were socially acceptable, training them in the western system of medicine and employing them in government services would not only help the cause of allopathy in India but that would also tend to subvert the indigenous system of medicine. In 1837, the medical board wrote to the Governor-General about the desirability of opening of dispensaries in the towns of India.⁶ In January 1838, the Governor-General approved the proposal with minor modifications. He announced that the dispensary would be a clinical testing site for the *materia medica* compiled by doctors and a place for medical instruction for *hakims* and fresh recruits.⁷ By 1840, a large number of dispensaries were established.

In the Punjab province, the dispensary system of medical relief was started after the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849. However, informal training of *hakims* in allopathy had started, in a way, even before that. In the 1820's, on his way from Jawalamukhi to Lahore, William Moorcroft, the British surgeon traveller, saw the local *hakims* of Hoshiarpur area of Punjab performing cataract operation (an eye surgery). He carefully observed that *hakims* used a spear pointed lancet of which a quarter of an inch was bone and rest of the blade tied with a thread. They perforated the eye by inserting a copper needle through the wound pushed it towards the top of the cataract. It was then brought close to the iris and the lens as lodged, at the first attempt, in the vitreous humour. He found that such surgery was unsuccessful in eight out of ten cases while western technique was more successful and less prone to infection. Moorcroft showed his instruments and method of operation to the local *hakims*. They were impressed and expressed their desire to be trained in this art of cataract surgery. Moorcroft engaged one of the *hakims* of Hoshiarpur to accompany him in his travels so that he could observe the surgery and serve as an apprentice. He promised to train him, bear his expenses, and also set him up with the requisite instruments. Moorcroft trained

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5. James Edgar Swain, *A History Of World Civilisation*, Second Indian reprint 1970, Eurasia Publishing House, New Delhi, p.195; Alice Magenis John Conrad Appel, *A History of the World*, American Book Company, 1955, p.142.
 6. *Extract from a letter from the Medical Board to the address of A.Rofs, President of the Council of India, 31st Oct. 1837.*
 7. *Extract from a letter from H.Princep, Sec. to W.H. Macnaghten Sec.to GOI with the Gov. Gen., Jan.24, 1838, para 2.*

a number of *hakims* by demonstrating his skill in every village he went to.⁸ Maharaja Ranjit Singh sought the aid of European physicians in 1826 and in 1834, when he was afflicted with a severe attack of paralysis. Three European doctors Honigberger, Benet and Harvey served as personal physician to the Maharaja.⁹ The Maharaja also consulted Moorcroft for his ill-health, for the treatment of his son Kharak Singh, who was suffering from fever and illness and for the treatment of his brother Fateh Chand, who was suspected of having cholera. Though Ranjit Singh had acknowledged the superiority of western system of medicine yet all western drugs had to be first tested and experimented on the body of his *hakims* before being consumed by the Maharaja and his family.¹⁰ So, by acting as testing laboratories and certifying authorities the *hakims* of the Maharaja got an opportunity to learn much from the western system of medicine. Ranjit Singh also sent some young men to Ludhiana to learn western system of medicine who, on their return to the Punjab, were employed with the force raised at Peshawar (1839).¹¹ The Allopathic Hospital was built at Lahore after the First Anglo-Sikh war under the directions of the Darbar and Dr. Honigberger was entrusted with its charge.¹²

Opening of the Lahore Medical School in 1860 (raised to Lahore Medical College in 1886) was aimed at producing qualified doctors in western system of education to meet the medical needs of the province. Formal training of *hakims* in dispensaries was started in 1866 under the 'Sialkot Programme' also called the 'Hakim Programme' or 'Mercer Programme'¹³ Lt. Col. T. W. Mercer the Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot observed that a large portion of the population in the Punjab was dying in spite of the fact that by 1866, 69 dispensaries were already there to provide medical relief to the natives.¹⁴ In fact, the hospital and dispensary system, alien to the socio-culture milieu of the Punjab, was not very popular among natives. Most of the people still preferred treatment at the hands of the *hakims* as they believed Indian system of physic to be better suited to their constitution and they also disliked European doctors who were not of their own race, caste and religion. Therefore, Lt. Col. T.W. Mercer conceived the idea to

8. Secma Alavi, *Islam and Healing, Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim Medical Tradition 1600-1900*, Permanent Black, 2007, pp.121-122, 175. William Moorcroft (1767-1825), an English explorer, born in Ormskrik, Lancashire, was the illegitimate son of Ann Moorcroft, daughter of a local farmer. In 1803, when a Citizen army was mobilized to defend Britain against a threatened Napoleonic invasion, Moorcroft joined the Westminster Volunteer Cavalry. Edward Perry, a director of the East India Company, noticed his activities and recruited Moorcroft to manage the Company stud in Bengal. In 1808, Moorcroft left the comforts of his home and the security of his thriving practice for Calcutta, the seat of British rule.
9. Gagandip Cheema, *Health, Disease and Medicine in the Punjab (1849-1901)*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis GNDU, Amritsar, 2006, pp. 4-5.
10. Secma Alavi, *Islam and Healing*, pp.123-126.
11. Gurcharn Singh, "Dr. Honigberger: A Physician of Maharaja Singh," *The Punjab Past and Present*, Vol. xxvii-ii, Oct. 1993, p.20.
12. Manjit Singh, *European Officers of Ranjit Singh*, unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, GNDU, Amritsar, 1984, p. 52.
13. *Punjab Administration Report, 1868-69*. Lahore, 1869, p. 135.
14. *Punjab Administration Report, 1866-67*. Lahore, 1867, p. 115.

extend dispensary system and to popularise European and western system of medicine by employing and giving training to the *hakims* in the dispensaries.¹⁵ He gave practical shape to his idea in the 'Sialkot Programme' by which Sialkot district, comprising 2,457 town and villages was marked off in 65 divisions or *hakim* circle, each with an average of 37 villages. One *hakim* was placed in – charge of each circle, and a central village selected as his place of residence.¹⁶ A native doctor (also called Hospital Assistant, educated in the Lahore Medical School) designated as *Hakim Ala* (the Chief *Hakim*) was appointed as in-charge of a branch dispensary at each tehsil station.¹⁷ He personally supervised the work of all the *hakims* in the tehsil and visited every *hakim* under his charge once in every three months, rendered his valuable counsel in all difficult cases and provided English medicines to them. The general supervision of the whole establishment of native doctors and *hakims* was entrusted to the Sub-Assistant Surgeon at district headquarter.¹⁸ The *hakims* were called to the dispensary at the district headquarter in batches of six at a time to get instructions in use, properties and doses of European medicines.¹⁹ The cost of the entire arrangement was met by a cess voluntarily paid by people of the district.²⁰ The 'Sialkot Programme', which established a district-wide scheme of medical relief, based entirely on the services of the *hakims*, was so successful that it received an award from the government of India.²¹ Subsequently, in a more or less modified form, the experiment was extended with varying success to the districts of Karnal, Jhelum, Gujarat Gujranwala and Shahpur.²²

Two advantages of the 'Mercer Programme' one, the slightest difficulty in collecting the tax for the establishment of rural dispensaries and second, people's appreciation of the benefits of the measure, encouraged the government in 1866 to start grants-in –aid system on a regulated scale. Prior to it, most of the dispensaries were maintained out of the imperial revenues. The rules for the management of dispensaries in the Punjab and for establishing a system of regulated grants-in-aid for these institutions were framed. These rules sanctioned by the Government of India were published for general information on February 8, 1867.²³ The rules made government financial assistance to the dispensaries conditional upon a certain proportion of the cost being contributed from local funds and private subscriptions.²⁴ From April 1, 1867 onwards all dispensaries in the Punjab

15. No 25, Lt. No .29, dt. Jan. 8, 1869, *Proceedings of the Govt. of Punjab, Home Department, Medical/ Sanitary*, (Proceedings cited hereafter as *PGOPHDM/S*), May 1875, p. 372.

16. *Ibid.* See also, *Punjab Administration Report, 1868-69*, Lahore, 1869, p. 136.

17. No 25, Lt. No .29, dt. Jan. 8, 1869, *PGOPHDM/S*, May 1875, p. 374.

18. *ibid.* p.373.

19. *Punjab Administration Report, 1869-70*, Lahore, 1870, p. 138.

20. *Punjab Administration Report, 1868-69*, Lahore, 1869, p. 136.

21. Biswamoy Pati and Mark Harrison (ed.), *Health, Medicine and Empire: Perspectives on Colonial India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 2001, p. 76.

22. *Punjab Administration Report, 1868-69*, Lahore, 1869, p. 136.

23. *Punjab Administration Report, 1866-67*, Lahore, 1867, p. lxix.

24. *Punjab Administration Report, 1868-69*, Lahore, 1869, p. 132.

receiving aid from the Government were divided into three categories—

1. First Class Dispensaries - were those which would be under the charge of an Assistant Surgeon.
2. Second Class Dispensaries - would be under the direct control of a Civil Surgeon who could utilize the services either of an Assistant Surgeon or Hospital Assistants as required.
3. Third Class Dispensaries - were also called branch dispensaries and would be under the charge of a Hospital Assistants or Native Doctor.²⁵

The salaries of the dispensary staff were paid by the government while the rest of the expenditure including repair maintenance of the dispensary building was met out of the local sources which included contributions from Municipal or local funds, interest on sums invested in Government securities, subscriptions and other private sources of income of a permanent character. Private donations and contributions of a temporary character were not treated as income, but were used as a fund to be invested from time to time together with any surplus income available in government securities.²⁶ A Local Committee, comprising of President (Commissioner Division), Vice- President (Deputy Commissioner) Civil Surgeon, and some influential European and Native residents, was to manage the affairs of all dispensaries. However, Inspector-General of Prisons was made an ex-officio Inspector –General of Hospitals.²⁷ In 1879, there were 180 hospitals and dispensaries in the Punjab. Out of them, there was one General Hospital, i.e. Mayo Hospital, Lahore, 10 were Civil Hospitals, 22 First Class Dispensaries, 99 Second Class Dispensaries and 48 Third Class Dispensaries.²⁸

In 1885, Civil Medical Department was re-organised and new rules were drafted for the management of Hospitals and Dispensaries. These rules were not applicable to the Mayo Hospital, Lahore, Ripon Hospital, Simla and Departmental Hospitals and Dispensaries; such as Military, Police and Jail. The Civil Medical Department was placed under the control of Inspector-General of Civil Hospital of the Punjab. He made all appointments, dismissals and transfers of Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants to various hospitals and dispensaries of the Punjab. Hospitals and Dispensaries were classified into two categories, viz :

1. Government Hospitals and Dispensaries
2. Aided Hospitals and Dispensaries

1. Government Hospitals and Dispensaries

Both at the provincial level and local level, hospitals and dispensaries were established by the government itself. Provincial revenue was utilised by the Government for the management and maintenance of Government Provincial Hospitals and Dispensaries while on the other hand, Local Government

25. *Punjab Administration Report, 1874-75*, Lahore, 1875, p. 11; See also, *Punjab Administration Report, 1866-67*. Lahore, 1867, p. lxix.

26. *Punjab Administration Report, 1866-67*, Lahore, 1867, p. lxx.

27. *Ibid.* pp.lxx, lxxi.

28. *Punjab Administration Report, 1879-80*, Lahore, 1880, p. 150.

Hospitals and Dispensaries were managed and maintained by Municipal Committees and District Boards out of the Municipal and District Board funds. Private subscriptions and donations, generally, supplemented the funds of the provincial and local governments for the purpose. Almost all hospitals were placed under the charge of Assistant Surgeons, all dispensaries were placed under the charge of either Assistant Surgeon or Hospital Assistant.²⁹ Each district in the province was placed under the charge of Civil Surgeon stationed at the district head-quarter.³⁰ On the basis of daily average of in-door patients and accommodation which the dispensaries provided to its patients, the government dispensaries were divided into three grades. The dispensaries providing facility of more than 20 but less than 40 beds with a daily average of at least 10 in-door patients were called Ist Grade Dispensaries, while IInd Grade Dispensaries had less than 20 beds, with a daily average of not less than 3 in-door patients. Dispensaries visited by less than 3 in-door patients but without the facility of beds were IIIrd Grade Dispensaries.³¹

2. Aided Hospitals and Dispensaries

The private Charitable Hospitals and Dispensaries established by the Charitable and Religious Societies were in fact, aided hospitals and dispensaries because they received grants-in-aid from government either in the form of money or free accommodation in buildings or free supply of medicines, etc. Inspector-General of Hospitals and Dispensaries and the Civil Surgeon frequently inspected such hospitals. They were also classified into three grades on the basis of government financial aid. Ist, IInd IIIrd Grade Hospitals and Dispensaries received Rs. 70 per mensem, Rs. 55 per mensem and Rs. 25 per mensem respectively.³²

At the close of the year 1866, when grants-in-aid system was introduced, there were 69 dispensaries in the Punjab. As compared to the year 1865, the number of dispensaries had increased by 14 and contributions from local funds were doubled (Rs. 22,651 in 1865 and Rs. 40,453 in 1866) and amount of private subscription was more than tripled (Rs. 6217 in 1865 and Rs. 19760 in 1866). The number of patients getting treatment increased from 342,277 to 377,754.³³ After ten years, i.e. in 1876 there were 163 hospitals and dispensaries. The Mayo General Hospital, Lahore was mostly supported out of provincial revenue, 125 hospitals and dispensaries also received some aid from the same source and the rest of their expenditure was defrayed from Municipal and District Funds and private

29. Revised rules for the Management of Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Punjab, Dec. 3, 1885, *PGOPHDM/S*, Dec. 1885, pp. 186-87.

30. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. xx, p. 374.

31. Revised rules for the Management of Hospitals and Dispensaries in the Punjab, Dec. 3, 1885, *PGOPHDM/S*, Dec. 1885, p. 187.

32. *Ibid.*, p.192.

33. *Punjab Administration Report, 1866-67*. Lahore, 1867, p. 115.

contributions; the remaining 37 were totally supported by local resources without any official aid.³⁴ In 1886, after the re-organisation of Civil Medical Department, the number of hospitals and dispensaries rose to 194. Out of these, Mayo Hospital, Lahore and three dispensaries were maintained entirely from Provincial Funds. One hundred and eighty-eight dispensaries were maintained from Local Funds; one dispensary was maintained entirely by private effort and partly by such effort and partly by Government support.³⁵ 68 Assistant Surgeons, 323 Hospitals Assistants and 4 local Native Doctors provided medical relief to 18,48,283 patients in these hospitals and dispensaries.³⁵ In 1900, i.e. by the end of the nineteenth century, 277 hospitals and dispensaries dotted the landscape of the Punjab. Out of these 277, 10 were situated in Hissar, 6 in Rohtak, 9 in Gurgaon, 9 in Delhi, 12 in Karnal, 7 in Ambala, 2 in Simla, 9 in Kangra, 15 in Hoshiarpur, 10 in Jullundur, 8 in Ludhiana, 10 in Ferozepur, 12 in Multan, 9 in Jhang, 8 in Montgomery, 7 in Lahore, 10 in Amritsar, 12 in Gurdaspur, 10 in Sialkot, 12 in Gujarat, 13 in Gujranwala, 10 in Shahpur, 8 in Jhelum, 8 in Rawalpindi, 6 in Abbotabad, 11 in Peshawar, 3 in Kohat, 5 in Bannu, 9 in Dera Ismail Khan, 6 in Dera Ghazi Khan 7 in Muzzaffarnagar districts. One was Mayo Hospital, Lahore and three were trans-border hospitals. Only the dispensaries of Ambala, Simla, Montgomery, Lahore, Jhelum, Abbotabad, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, Mayo Hospital, Lahore and 3 trans-border hospitals were getting grant from the government, while rest of the hospitals and dispensaries situated in different districts were purely maintained out the local funds and private subscriptions.³⁶ Thus, the local bodies and philanthropists spent more on the hospitals and dispensaries and the claim of the colonial men to provide medical relief to the natives remains a myth. Perhaps, a great loss of life caused by frequent epidemics of cholera, malaria and plague and human sufferings due to some other diseases gave the natives a feeling that it was their moral duty to help the sick and injured.

Mayo Hospital, Lahore, Egerton Hospital, Peshawar, Female Hospital, Rawalpindi, Lying-in Hospital, Amritsar, Ripon Hospital, Simla, Female Jubilee Hospital, Kangra, Charitable Hospital, Ludhiana, Municipal Hospital, Amritsar, St. Catherine's Hospital for Women, Amritsar, Denny Hospital, Hoshiarpur, Francis Newton Hospital, Ferozepur, Charlotte Hospital, Ludhiana, Philadelphia Women's Hospital, Ambala, Fathegarh Dispensary for Women (later on name was changed to Mission Hospital Fatehgarh), Civil Dispensary, Jullundur, Mission Dispensary, Lahore, Dera Ghazi Khan Dispensary, etc. were the most popular hospitals and dispensaries of the province.³⁷ Most of these provided relief to *pudrah-nashin* women. Apart from 277 hospitals catering to the needs of the civilians; there were Military and Lock Hospitals (hospitals at cantonments where soldiers were

34. *Punjab Administration Report, 1876-77*, Lahore, 1877, p. 125.

35. No. 2 Lt. No. 247, dt. May 14, 1887, PGOPHDM/S, May 1887, p.44.

36. *Punjab Administration Report, 1900-1901*, Lahore, 1901, p. ccii.

37. Gagandip Cheema, *Health, Disease and Medicine in the Punjab (1849-1901)*, pp. 164-165,252.

treated for venereal diseases) and 31 Police hospitals.³⁸ The Lock Hospitals were established at the cantonments of Delhi, Ambala, Kasauli, Sabathu, Dagshai, Jullundur, Dalhousie, Sialkot, Lahore, Mian Meer, Ferozepur, Multan, Rawalpindi, Attock, Naushera and Peshawar.³⁹

The diseases treated at Mayo Hospital, Lahore and at other hospitals and dispensaries of the province included small-pox, malarial fevers, cholera, plague, typhoid fever, dysentery, diarrhoea, diabetes, dropsy, delirium, syphilis, gonorrhoea, rheumatism, phthisis, tumour, apoplexy, convulsions, laryngitis, bronchitis, pleurisy, goitre, pneumonia, hernia, liver diseases, spleen diseases, kidney diseases, ulcers, parturition, skin diseases, abscess, anaemia injuries, maggots in nose, diseases of the respiratory system, eye, ear, nervous system, digestive and generative systems, connective tissues, etc. Major surgeries like cataract, lithotomy for extraction of stone from the bladder, iridectomy for glaucoma, lithotripsy for removal of vesicle calculus, tracheotomy for ulcers of larynx, were performed by the Civil Surgeons, Assistant Surgeons and Hospital Assistants. The minor surgical operations included the knee-joints, hip-joints, cyst of eyelids, polypus of eyelids, tumour of eyelids, tongue-tie, etc. Skin grafting was also successfully done. In all lying-in-hospitals, besides treating women for common diseases and obstetric operations, surgeries on women like removal of fallopian tubes fibroids ovarian cysts and uterine appendages were done.⁴⁰

Institutionalisations of medical facilities as practised in hospitals and dispensaries was a novelty of the western system of medicine which the natives initially failed to appreciate. Hospitals and dispensaries generally labelled as 'slaughter-houses' and 'torture chambers'⁴¹ aroused "unreasoned terror and detestation among masses".⁴² Getting admitted to these 'low-caste' institutions by a high-caste person was considered below dignity. *Purdah-nashin* women, both among the Hindus and the Muslims, also shunned hospitals⁴³. *Chikitisk*, an Ayurvedic journal remarked :

Hospitals in India are not disease curing centres but magisterial courts where doctors like a strict administrator scold their patients. Even the medical students behave like qualified Doctors and treat their patients in a harsh way. Same is the attitude of the

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 142-144.

39. *Punjab Administration Report, 1871-1872*. Lahore, 1872, p. 207. *Punjab Administration Report, 1873-1874*. Lahore, 1874, p. 104.

40. Gagandip Cheema, *Health, Disease and Medicine in the Punjab (1849-1901)*, pp. 146-147, 168.

41. David Arnold, *Colonizing the Body: State, Medicine and Epidemic Diseases in Nineteenth Century India*, OUP, New Delhi, 1993, p.220.

42. Appendix to H. Dept. Proceedings, Nov.1900, M/S No. 1-3; Report of the IPC on the measures for the suppression of Plague, *PGOPHDM/S*, Nov.1900, p.9.

43. *Annual Administration Report of the Dufferin Fund*, 1890, p. 197.

Compounders and ward- boys towards the patients who pounce on them like dogs.⁴⁴

Vigilance, review and plugging the loopholes in the system was an important feature of official policy towards hospitals and dispensaries. Some officials suggested that caste, religion, popularity and unpopularity of an Assistant Surgeon, Hospital Assistant Native Doctor should be considered for making their appointments in such institutions. C.A. Elliot, Officiating Secretary to the Government of North –Western Province, wrote that :

A Hindu is sent to a place where the people desire a Muhammadan and vice-versa, or a doctor is removed from his native district where he is known and has influence and practice and stranger is sent instead.⁴⁵

Similarly, Alexander Anderson, D.C. Hissar, wrote to Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, that

Our dispensaries as a rule are not popular, and people blame the Assistant Surgeons, I think it might be possible to give Committees a selection of Assistant Surgeons and other medical subordinates. A popular man is moved without being their consulted, and perhaps an unpopular man sent to this district as a punishment. The fact that the people here are backward is a reason for sending the best men so as to make hospitals popular. These considerations will apply with greater force to female medical subordinates.⁴⁶

G. Playfair, Superintending Surgeon, Delhi and A. Ross, Civil Surgeon, Delhi reported that the popularity of Delhi Dispensary was because of British trained Sub –Assistant Surgeon Boboo Raj Kishan Dey who had earned such a good reputation that his dispensary was always hugely attended. After his death nobody come to the dispensary the few people who visited came exclusively to consult Dr. Ross, whose talent they too appreciated.⁴⁷ The Civil Surgeon of Kangra reported the failure of dispensary due the unpopularity of the Hospital in-charge.⁴⁸ Two native doctors Sheikh Abdulla and Kurram Shah, made themselves so popular amongst the people that patients freely came to the branch dispensaries for treatment .⁴⁹

With change in Government policy the attendance at hospitals and dispensaries began to increase as is evident from table no. I

44. *Chikitsik*, Ayurvedic Monthly Journal, Kanpur, July, 7, 1933.

45. No.7 Lt. No. 103, dt. Jan.11, 1872, Camp Jhansi, *PGOPHDM/S*, May1876, p. 179.

46. No.60, No 19 L.F .March 1883, Appendix to Home Dept. Proceedings, Dec. 1893, *PGOPHDM/S*, March 1893, p.6.

47. V/24/732, Report on Delhi City Dispensary for 1840 by A. Ross and G. Playfair, pp. 156-157.

48. No.2 Lt. No. 751/4433 dt. Oct.18, 1882, Lahore, *PGOPHDM/S*. Oct.1882, p.125.

49. No. 25 Lt. No. 29, Jan.8, 1869, *PGOPHDM/S*, May, 1875, p.375.

TABLE NO.-I
PROGRESSIVE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF DISPENSARIES AND
NUMBER OF PATIENTS IN THE PUNJAB (1865-1900)⁵⁰

Years	Number Of Dispensaries	Total Number of Patients Treated
1865	55	342277
1870	101	623447
1875	150	1037835
1880	184	1368429
1885	193	1780327
1890	216	2580496
1895	257	3260617
1900	277	3438367

To popularise and to make dispensary system socially acceptable the colonial government decided to drop the coercive aspect of western medicine and to accommodate indigenous values, i.e. construction of separate hospitals and dispensaries for high –caste and *purdah- nashin* women, separate rooms in the hospitals for high-caste male patients according to their caste and religion.

In 1860, 1,43,226 men were treated in all hospitals and dispensaries of the province. The number of men patients rose to 18,74,070 in 1900. On the other hand, the number of women patients in 1860 was 35,691 which rose to 6,90,138 in 1900.⁵¹ This disparity was, especially, due to social customs which prohibited women to visit hospitals and dispensaries. However, if we analyse the above mentioned figure closely, they indicate that from 1860 to 1900 i.e., during the span of forty years, the number of men visiting hospitals and dispensaries increased by 13.08% while the number of women visiting such institutions increased by 19.34%. This shows that hospitals and dispensaries were getting more popular among women. The apparent reason for this was lying- in hospitals and dispensaries under the charge of female Assistant Surgeons and female Hospital Assistants. When the Government provided such better medical facilities to save millions of young mothers, most of whom would have died during child-birth due to the malpractices of the *dais*, they began to appreciate the advantage of visiting hospitals. Very soon, the Punjab achieved the second position in India after Madras in providing medical relief to both in- door and out- door patients.⁵² As compared

50. *Punjab Administration Reports* of the relevant years.

51. *Punjab Administration Report, 1860-61*. Lahore, 1861, p. 126; *Punjab Administration Report, 1900-1901*. Lahore, 1901, p. cciii.

52. *The Tribune*, Sept.9, 1896.

to Hindu and other castes, the predominance of Muhammadan women in hospitals and dispensaries was reported. A similar trend was also seen among Muhammadan men.⁵³ Female Hospital at Rawalpindi under a Female Hospital Assistant was having a daily attendance of 150.⁵⁴ Out of every 100 patients treated in all the dispensaries 19 were women and the daily average amounted to 220. The attendance of women was highest in Dera Ghazi Khan Dispensary.⁵⁵ The Mission Dispensary, Lahore, outside the Delhi Gate in one of the most densely populated areas of the city, was also fast gaining confidence among women.⁵⁶ The people of Lahore expressed their desire for Lying- in Hospital under a qualified lady doctor. A temporary hospital was opened in October 1885 and the Municipality of Lahore employed Miss Beilby out of its funds. The construction of the hospital, which later on came to be known as Lady Aitchison Hospital, was started with the help of Dufferin Fund. Rai Mela Ram of Lahore also contributed a sum of Rs.15000 towards the cost of the building.⁵⁷ The people of Kesari village (10 miles from Ambala Cantonment) also demanded a mission dispensary for their women.⁵⁸ The Mayo Hospital, Lahore and Civil Dispensary at Jullundur were very much over crowded.⁵⁹ The construction of Albert Victor Wing in the Mayo Hospital to provide private rooms to those patients who could pay was appreciated by the natives.⁶⁰ To overcome the problem of over- crowding of patients at Delhi, where the daily average number of patients was 48.14 to 28 beds. Major R. R. Nisbet, the then Deputy Commissioner, called a public meeting on May 20th 1884 at Town Hall, Delhi. As a result, for the construction of a new building, subscriptions amounting to Rs.7000/- were collected by the end of the year. Rs. 5000/- were arranged from Municipal and District Funds. Government promised a grant- in -aid of Rs. 1000/-.⁶¹ Egerton Hospital, Peshawar was popular not only in the city and surroundings, but also beyond the border. Its reputation was kept up beyond the boarder by the natives of Bajaur, Sawat, Kabul, Kandhar, Kohistan, Bokhara and Yarkand who frequently visited the hospital. In 1883, a large number of patients from Afghanistan applied for treatment.⁶²

With the passage of time, the hospitals and dispensaries became so popular among the natives that local bodies and philanthropists contributed freely for the construction and maintenance of such institutions, while the Government share was gradually coming down year after year as is evident from Table no. II.

53. Lt. No. 1488, Lahore, dt. May 15, 1896, *PGOPHDM/S*, Aug. 1896, p.126.

54. Lt. No. 2297, Sept.1, 1892, *PGOPHDM/S*, Oct. 1892, p.4.

55. Lt. No. 701, Oct.26, 1888, *PGOPHDM/S*, Oct. 1888, p.113.

56. *66th Annual Report of Ludhiana Mission, 1901*, p. 47.

57. No. 11, Lt. No. 1175, dt. April.6, 1886, *PGOPHDM/S*, May 1886, p.69; *Punjab Administration Report, 1886-87*. Lahore, 1887, p.136.

58. *60th Annual Report of Ludhiana Mission, 1894*, p. 63.

59. *The Tribune*, Aug.9, 1900.

60. File no.11, Lt. No. 600s, Aug.7, 1893, *PGOPHDM/S*, Aug. 1893, p.73.

61. No.7, Lt. No. 627s, dt.July.10, 1885, *PGOPHDM/S*, July, 1885, p.85.

62. *Ibid.*, p.84.

TABLE NO.-II
DIFFERENT SOURCES OF INCOME SUPPORTING THE GROWING
NUMBER OF DISPENSARIES IN THE PUNJAB
(1865-1900)⁶³

Years	Number Of Dispensaries	Sources Of Income		
		From Govt. (Rs.)	From Municipal Fund (Rs.)	From Other Sources (Rs.)
1865	55	72881	22651	6217
1870	101	69344	68149	29171
1875	150	132461	160989	28609
1880	184	72199	244161	19546
1885	193	25798	340007	22945
1890	216	32720	406452	33483
1895	257	49988	480880	47382
1900	277	51290	505746	81913

In 1866, the Government spent Rs 72,881 for the maintenance and management of 55 dispensaries, while Municipal Committees contributed Rs.22,651. After thirty years, the share of Municipal Committees remarkably increased from Rs.22,651 to 5,05,746 while the Government share decreased from Rs. 72,881 to Rs. 51,290. Some philanthropists like Lala Sagar Chand, Sardar Jagjodh Singh, Rai Mela Ram, Diwan Amar Nath, Bhai Anokh Singh, Lala Harnam Singh, Lala Mehar Chand, etc. lavishly contributed to the dispensaries so that people could get better treatment.⁶⁴ Bhai Narian Singh of Bagrian opened and maintained a private dispensary at Bagrian. Lala Ishri Parsad of Delhi subscribed a sum of Rs. 22 per mensem to meet the cost of a Hospital Assistant and additional medicines for the Lalkua Branch Dispensary in Delhi.⁶⁵ Maharaja of Kashmir donated Rs. 500/- to the Mayo Hospital. Maharaja of Patiala promised an annual contribution to the Kasauli Dispensary while some other Native Chiefs granted money to the Ripon Hospital, Simla.⁶⁶ By the turn of the century, the British Government was successful not only in subverting indigenous system of medicine with the help of Native doctors but also succeeded in throwing the entire burden of popularising western system of medicine on the shoulders of the natives.

63. *Punjab Administration Reports of the relevant years.*

64. Gagandip Cheema, *Health, Disease and Medicine in the Punjab (1849-1901)*. p. 262.

65. No.2, Lt No. 247, dt. May.14, 1887, *PGOPHDM/S*, May, 1887, p.46.

66. No. 3, Proceedings M/S Dept. No. 701, dt. Oct.26, 1883, *PGOPHDM/S*, Oct.1883, p.114.
 No.6; Proceedings M/S Dept. No. 302, dt. April.18, 1884 *PGOPHDM/S*, April, 1884, p.36.

Hospitals and Dispensaries benefitted both the natives and British. These institutions saved millions of native souls and created job opportunities for the native physicians. The supremacy of Allopathy through these institutions was ultimately established and it also politically helped the British Government to win confidence of the lawless tribes beyond the boarder by providing medical aid to them. The civilizing effect of dispensaries in eliciting the gratitude of wild boarder tribes was conspicuous. Inspector General Hathaway remarked :

The majority of the Civil and Medical officer have taken an increased interest in these charitable establishments; and there is no doubt that in each successive year they are more and more appreciated by the native community. I believe that, on the frontier especially, they have indirectly exercised a political benefit, helping on the great cause of civilisation, and tending to subdue the ignorance and barbarism of the wild and uneducated tribes, who now in case of sickness occurring amongst them, will depute a messenger to travel on foot scores of miles in order to obtain medicine and advice. In surgical cases requiring an operation, they place the most implicit faith in the skill of an English operators and submit themselves to the knife with perfect confidence as to the result⁶⁷ .

67. *Punjab Administration Report, 1861-62*, Lahore, 1862, p. 127.

CASTE CLASSIFICATION AND CUSTOMARY PRACTICES IN KULU AND LAHAUL-SPITI UNDER COLONIAL RULE (1850-1947)

Vinay Kumar Sharma*

Lack of a recorded historical tradition is the greatest drawback for scholars attempting to write a long term history of Kulu and Lahaul-Spiti.¹ The period of the political decline of the Mughal Empire in India is marked by a reordering of the power centres in the Indian subcontinent. This was accompanied by the rise of two important powers who played a crucial role in the political history of Himachal. These two powers were the Gorkhas and Sikhs.² With the annexation of Kulu by the Sikhs in 1840-41, Lahaul-Spiti too was annexed and ruled by them in their usual extortionate manner. With the cession of most of the hill areas in 1846 to the British, both Kulu and Lahaul came under direct British rule. This resulted in an entirely new administrative dispensation that altered the basic norms of governance. This also resulted in an increased influence of mainstream Hindu culture and ideas. The Thakurs, who were the dominant social group adopted Hindu customs and connections.³

Brahmans and Rajputs

Apart from a few families who functioned as priests or *purohits* to the Rajas, the Kulu Brahmans differed very little in appearance, dress or customs from the cultivating caste of Kanets. They owned 6 per cent of cultivated land and average size of holding was 3 per acres.⁴ This was also true for most of the Rajputs barring a few who were related to the raja. Lyall, in fact noted, that both Brahmans and Rajputs frequently married Kanets girls. Such wives were known as *srit* in distinction from *lari* or wife of the same caste and married through a

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1. J. Hutchison and J.Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, (first published in Lahore, 1933; rpt. Shimla, 1982), Vol. II, p.413.
2. *Kangra DG, 1898, Gazetteer of the Kangra District: Part II to IV: Kulu, Lahaul and Spiti*, (Compiled by A.H. Diack, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1898. Hereafter *Kangra DG, 1898.*), p.22.
3. Hutchison, J. and J.Ph. Vogel, *History of the Punjab Hill States*, Vol. II, p. 482.
4. A.H. Diack, Final Report on the Revised Settlement of the Kulu Sub-Division of the Kangra District, Civil and Military Gazette Press, Lahore, 1898, p.6.

regular *biah* ceremony.⁵

Kanets

The bulk of the inhabitants (61,655 were Kanets who owned 66 per cent of the total cultivated area in Kulu. They were exclusively agriculturists and shepherds and were industrious and thrifty cultivators. The average size of a Kanet's holding was 4 acres of cultivated land.⁶ The Kanets seem to occupy the same position as was occupied by the Rathis of the main Kangra area. Just as the Rathis explain their lower status due to the use of plough by them or to their being the offspring of Rajputs by *sudra* women, the Kanets claim to be the children of local women of the hills by Rajputs who had come up from the plains.⁷

Gosains, Behragis, Nath and Thavi

Originally the Gosains and Nath were more in the nature of religious sects. However, they had for long taken up secular profession and were secular people and cultivating their land themselves like other peasants. The original Behragis in Kulu appear to have come from the plains; however, those present in colonial times were descendants of Kulu Brahmans or Kanets who had become the disciples of the original immigrants. The Thavi were builders and masons and ranked above the Daxis but below the Kanets.⁸

Subordinate Castes

The Daxis were regarded as an impure or *kamin* caste. They were also commonly called Kolis. The majority of this low-caste people were returned at the 1891 census as Daxis in Kulu and Koli in Saraj. They were 29,013 in number and owned 8 percent of the cultivated area. They owned 2 acres per holding cultivated land in Kulu area. However, in dress and customs they do not differ materially from Kanets, except that they were generally poorer.⁹ In Saraj area they were commonly called *bethu*. However, *bethu* is not a caste. A Dagi, Koli or some other group could also be a *bethu*. Another low castes existed in that area that was Chamars and Lohars. They had been classed separately in Kulu and were more likely Daxis who had taken up these tasks. However, by colonial times other Daxis avoided eating with the Lohars. Chamars ate the flesh of cattle that had died a natural death. The Daxis carried the palanquins when used at marriages. The Lohars and Chamars also worked in iron and leather for the Kanets and were paid for this work by certain grain allowances by the upper caste people.¹⁰

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5. J.B. Lyall, *Kangra Settlement Report* (Completed in 1872, jointly published version of settlement made by G.C. Barnes and J.B. Lyall, Lahore, 1889 has been used. Hereafter as Lyall, *Kangra SR*, 1872), p.98. 'The children of Kanet wife by a Brahman were called Brahmans or Rajputs'. (See A.F.P. Harcourt, *The Himalaya Districts of Kooloo, Lahaul and Spiti*, Vivek Publishing House, Delhi, 1972, p.37).
 6. Diack, *Kulu SR*, 1898, p.6.
 7. Lyall, *Kangra SR*, 1872, p.97.
 8. *Ibid*; p.98.
 9. Diack, *Kulu SR*, 1898, p.6.
 10. Lyall, *Kangra SR*, 1872, p.98.

The population of Kulu Sub-Division as returned in 1868, 1881 and 1891 are mentioned below:

Table No. 1

Name of Tract	Population in the Different Years		
	1868	1881	1891
Kulu Proper	90,313	1,00,259	1,05,651
Lahaul	5,970	5,760	5,862
Spiti	3,024	2,862	3,548
Total	99,307	1,08,881	1,15,181

Source : Diack, *Kulu SR*, 1898, p.5.

According to available figures, the population of Kulu Proper increased by 11.5 per cent between 1868 to 1881 and 5.9 per cent between 1881-1891.¹¹ In the census of 1891 a total of 1,05,651 souls was counted. Of these 55,100 belonged to Kulu *tehsil* (excluding Lahaul and Spiti) and 50,551 to Saraj *tehsil*.¹²

People of Lahaul :

The population of Lahaul increased from 2,535 in 1855 to 5,790 in 1868. The huge increase has been explained by careful enumeration. There was also a natural growth of population apart from a small amount of immigration from Zanskar and other areas to the north-west. The caste-wise distribution was: Thakurs 216; Brahmans 502; Kanets 4,566; Dagis 360; Lohars 277; Bararas 10; Suniyars 3; Hensis 17. The Thakurs were the *jagirdars* and their offshoots. According to British records they were beginning to claim Rajput origin even though they were more likely to have had a Bhotia or Mongolian origin.¹³ The Brahmans were found in Pattan, and had originally migrated from Chamba and other areas to the south. While most of the Kanets in Lahaul had a Mongoloid ancestry, many who settled in Pattan were probably descendants of Kanets settlers from Kulu and Bangahal. The Dagis largely came from Kulu in pre-colonial times. They acted as musicians for the temples and also in some monasteries. A few Lohars were found who acted as blacksmith while the Baragis were the basket-makers. The Hensis were professional musicians and their daughters acted as dancing girls.

Every winter many of the Kanets of Pattan, spent their time washing for gold at Cheling in Ladakh or in the Zanskar river. They paid a tax of one or two rupees per head to the Ladakh government for this and earned an average of four *totals* of pure gold in a season.¹⁴

11. Diack, *Kulu SR*, 1898, p.5.

12. Kangra *DG*, 1898, p.35.

13. Lyall, *Kangra SR*, 1872, p.122.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-123.

People of Spiti

In 1868, the population of Spiti was counted at 3,024. The number of women was only two more than men. Earlier, in 1855 the population had been counted at 2,087. This increase was mainly due to the better enumeration. Otherwise, the population increase was rather slow due to the property all going to the elder son who was allowed to marry. Little migration occurred from Tibet.¹⁵ In Spiti there was no discrimination in eating and drinking and therefore, no caste in the formal Hindu class. Nevertheless, the landholding class (called Kanets) did not intermarry with the Lohars nor the Lohars with the *bedas*. The Kanets here were ethnically Bhotias and constituted the whole population with the exception of about 100 Lohars and 46 *bedas* in the year of 1868. The Lohars, whose Tibetan name was *zoh*, were skilful smiths; they made pipes, tinder-boxes, bits, locks and keys, knives, choppers, hoes, ploughshares and chains.¹⁶

The Spiti men bought old cattle from the neighbouring Lahaulis and slaughtered them in autumn to meet their requirements for the six months of winter. Lahaul appears to have come under Brahmanic influence by British times. The colonial records suggest that cattle were not slaughtered there (except perhaps in some villages at the head of the Bhaga Valley and even there it was done secretly). However, each house killed five or six sheep at the beginning of the winter. The flesh of these sheep was dried and could be kept good for many years. The principal food of the Lahaulis was buck-wheat. It was boiled whole and eaten as gruel. It could also be roasted and made into flour, which was then baked into cakes or mixed with *chang* (bear) and made into dumplings.

Caste in Spiti

In Spiti, there is no explicit distinction of caste in the Brahmanic sense. Some menial and artisan classes such as the *garas* or blacksmiths were regarded as distinct caste by the ordinary agriculturists of Spiti. The blacksmiths are allowed to use the common pipe only through stems provided by themselves. The *bedas* correspond to the *hensis* of Kulu and were outcastes. They lived by begging, making whips for the Spiti men and bracelets of shell for the women. They attended weddings as musicians along with the blacksmiths. Blacksmith did not eat with them or take their women as wives. While caste was almost unknown in Spiti, there were tribal divisions such as: Nandu, Gyazhingpa, Khyungpo, Lonchhenpa, Henir, Nyekpa. Marriage was forbidden within the tribe, but one tribe intermarried quite freely with another.¹⁷

Marriage Ceremonies

Lyll mentions in his settlement report that there were three kinds of marriage ceremonies in Kulu region. The first was the *bedi biah*, which was the ordinary Hindu form. Second was the *ruti mania* in which four men went from the house

15. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 123.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 92-93.

of the bridegroom to the bride's house. The bride was dressed up, a cap was put on her head and she was then brought home to the bridegroom. The third was Ganesh *puja*, a form used by Brahmans, Khattris, Suniars while marrying a Kanet. The bridegroom would send his priest and relatives to the bride's house where the worship of Ganesh was performed and then the bride was brought home.¹⁸ Apart from these three types of marriage ceremonies another ceremony was performed at both houses. This was called *lai lui*. The young man's plaid is tied in a knot with the bride's *dupatta* and the two garments knotted together were carried round the altar on which the worship of Ganesh has been celebrated.¹⁹

In Kulu the betrothal ceremony was a simple one. The father of the boy visited the father of girl with some small presents. An exchange of promises was made and the girl's father agreed to part with her in consideration of a certain sum of money from the boy's father. After the marriage a feast (*dham*) is followed. A goat was sacrificed by a specially selected guest and a present of the goat's flesh sent to the negi or head-men of the *kothi*.²⁰

Polyandry

Polyandry was common throughout Saraj and also in parts of *Waziri* Rupi. It was also a norm among the inhabitants of Malana. It has been suggested in the *Kangra Gazetteer of 1898* that the grain produced in Malana was insufficient for providing enough for the Malana people, and corn had to be annually imported. It was therefore, for this reason that the practice of polyandry may have arisen.²¹ It has been well described by Lyall as 'a community of wives among brothers who have a community of other goods.' In such a situation if the brothers and their joint family after them remained together the question of succession was not very difficult. However, if any of the brothers or any of the sons wanted to be separate from the joint estate, the question of succession and share became a problem for the courts to resolve. The rules arising from such cases according to custom have been diversely stated. Firstly, it has been said that the woman was considered the wife of the eldest brother, and all the children were considered his children. Secondly, the woman was allowed the liberty to state which brother was the father of her child and the succession was decided in accordance with her allegations. The general rule of inheritance more commonly accepted however, was that, 'of three or more brothers who possess one wife in common, the eldest was deemed the father of the first born son, the second brother the father of the next born and so on, so much so that even where there was strong reason to believe that the paternity was otherwise, this rule has been known to be adhered to.'²²

18. Lyall, *Kangra SR*, 1872, p.98.

19. *Kangra DG*, 1898, p.37.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

22. *Ibid*; pp. 38-39.

Rules of Inheritance

The norm for inheritance in Kulu among all castes till 1870 was *pagvand*. In Kulu this was called *mundevand*, i.e. all legitimate sons of one father inherited an equal share of the family property irrespective of the number of sons born of each wife or mother. The basis of this rule was that amongst the Kanets and some other lower castes, the real custom had so far been to regard every son by a woman kept and treated as a wife was legitimate. In the same way among some classes, a *pichlag* (posthumous son) called *ronda* in Kulu, born to a widow in the house of a second husband was considered the son of the second husband. A widow could not be deprived of her life tenure in her husband's estate for want of chastity, so long as she did not leave the house to go away to live in another man's house. It was a common opinion in Kulu that a father could, by formal deed of gift made during his lifetime give his estate to a daughter in the absence of a male heir without the consent of a next kin. Lyall further suggested that it was unlikely that a distant kinsman could have claimed against a daughter even without a gift. It was also acceptable that a *ghar-jawai* (son-in-law) be taken into the house. After a time he became entitled to succeed as a kind of adopted son without proof of gift.²³

Due to the remoteness of the areas, the customs and social culture of Lahaul and Spiti were quite different from those in Kangra and Kulu. They had their own customs, which were similar to Ladakh territory. Infact, Spiti had a different social set up from Lahaul region. These areas are open for only six months in the whole year due to heavy snowfalls.

Social Customs

In Lahaul, fraternal polyandry or the taking of one woman as wife by several brothers was a recognized institution. This social practice was quite common and the colonial administrators were of the view that it was a method of preventing the fragmentation of family property. In spiti, however, polyandry was not acceptable. Here only the elder brother was permitted to marry while the younger ones become monks. In Spiti, if a man wished to divorce his wife without her consent, he had to return to her all that she had brought with her. Apart from this, he also had to give her a field or two by way of maintenance. After a divorce a woman was free to marry when she pleased. It appears likely that these practices of marriage, that were so specific to Lahaul and Spiti, enabled the peasant holdings to remain integrated and economically viable. In an area that was so hostile to agriculture, it was probably important to avoid the fragmentation of landed property.

Ceremonies Connected with Agriculture

There were certain ceremonies in Lahaul that were connected with the cultivation of fields. It was common practice for a *lama*, to use astrological

23. Lyall, *Kangra SR*, 1872, pp.98-99. *Pagvand* was a word derived from *pag*, a turban, and connotes the rule according to which an estate is distributed in equal shares amongst the sons and corresponds exactly to the phrase *per capita*. According to the *pagvand* rule of succession all the sons will inherit equally. (<http://punjabrevenue.nic.in/cust19.htm>)

calculation to indicate the auspicious day to start ploughing the land for the agricultural season. This invariably fell between 8th and 22nd May. After the fields were ploughed and sown, a procession, led by a lama, went around the fields. Two drums were beaten as the procession proceeded and some of the men in it carried religious books on their backs. Thereafter, the people in the procession feasted on cakes and *chang* in the field near the village. The food was supplied jointly by all the landholders. The purpose of this ceremony was to ensure the sprouting of the sown seeds. Once this was over, the water-course for irrigating the fields was repaired. Even on this occasion a sheep was offered up to the *Iha*, a deity which is supposed to take special care of the irrigation channels.²⁴

The sprouting of seeds called for another ceremony. Small branches of the pencilcedar were struck in different parts of the field and incense was burnt. Members of the family sat down to eat and drink and also say a few prayers. They prayed that each grain that had sprung up, should produce many ears. At the ripening of the crop, a goat or sheep was killed to honour the *Iha*. At times, some villages held horse-races. It was only after the 'grain ripening' ceremony that cultivators could cut even grass or anything green with a sickle made of iron. To do so earlier would anger the field-god, who would then send frost to destroy or injure the harvest. If, therefore, a farmer of Lahaul wanted grass before the harvest sacrifice, he had to cut it with a sickle made of the horn of an ox or sheep or tear it off with his hands. Infringement of this rule were previously severely punished. During colonial times a fine of one or two rupees was levied. This went to *jagirdar* or village headman. The iron sickle can be used once. Harvest season was declared open by the performance of the sacrifice.²⁵

Custom of Inheritance in Lahaul and Spiti

Amongst the Thakurs of Lahaul, the custom of primogeniture prevailed. The eldest son succeeded after the father's death. As long as his brother's lived with him, they were maintained and called little Thakurs. When they established separate households, they got a small allotment (*garhpan*) under the name of *dotoenzing* or younger son's land for supporting themselves. In Pattan, where Hindustan predominates, the holdings were a bit larger and more productive. Here, many brothers married separately and divided the house and lands. In such families if a brother died without an issue, his share always went to the brothers with whom he had lived jointly, or to the brother's issue. No claim could be made by the separated branch of the family. Most interestingly, if there was no son to inherit, a daughter could succeed her father's entire estate in preference to his nephews, or other male family members. But the condition was that she should not have married before her father's death and settled down to live on her husband's holding away from home. If she is married and living with her husband in her father's house, she can inherit all his property.²⁶

24. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

26. *Kangra DG*, 1898, pp.13-14.

The Spiti family has followed the system of primogeniture. The eldest son succeeded in the lifetime of his father. As soon as the eldest son married a wife, he succeeded to the family estate as well as the ancestral dwelling, or the big house (*khang-chhen*). The head of the family was known as *khang-chhen-pa*. On his succession the father retired to a smaller house (*khang-chung*) and was now called *khang-chung-pa*. A specific plot of land was allotted to his maintenance. He now had nothing to do with the family estate and its management. His younger sons, the brothers of the *khang-chhen-pa* were sent in their childhood to Buddhist monasteries. Only if the *khang-chhen-pa* failed to have an issue, did one of the brothers then abandoned monastic life and took his eldest brother's place in the family.

Even when the younger sons became monks, they got as maintenance the produce of a field that was set aside as *da-zhing* (from *dawa* another word *lama*).²⁷ Unmarried daughters of a landholder were entitled to maintenance from the head of family. He had either to let them live in his house on equal terms with his own family or give them a separate house and plot of land. The daughter forfeits her claim only if she went away to live in another man's house. Many women continued living in their father's or brother's houses and remained spinsters. Their chance of marriage was small, as all younger sons became monks, and monks are bound to celibacy. Bigamy was only allowed when the head of a family who had son, or expectation of getting one by his first wife, married again.²⁸ Though monogamy is the norm in Spiti. Polyandry is practised among the *dutalpas* and among the *buzhans* who were the descendants of the monks of the Pin monasteries. The latter required no vow of celibacy from its members.²⁹

The Kulu and Lahaul-Spiti region had different kinds of castes during colonial period. They had their own distinct culture, traditions and customary practices. The people of the area lived with a fairly clear understanding of their caste position. A few Brahmans of Kulu cultivated their own land, but the Kanets were the largest landowners. The Dagsis were also classified as *zamindars* but their holdings were much smaller than those of the Brahmans and Kanets.³⁰ Caste rigidities, social restrictions and untouchability, as prevalent in other parts of the country were also found in this Himalayan region, but they were not very acute, rigorous and prohibitive here. It was not necessary that if one custom prevailed in one area the adjoining area too would be bound with it i.e. unlike Lahaul and Kinnaur polyandry was not accepted in Spiti region. Whatever the customary practices of a community or caste, it seems quite clear that these practices were the primary framework within which social behaviour was regulated in Kulu and Lahaul-Spiti.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 84.

30. Harcourt, *The Himalayan Districts of Kooloo, Lahaul and Spiti*, p.37.

SIKH-NIRANKARI RELATIONS IN THE LATTER HALF OF 20TH CENTURY

*Jashandeep Singh Sandhu**

The Sikh-Nirankari relations, in the latter half of the 20th century have remained strained, tense and at times violent. The tension between the Sikhs and a Nirankari sect which culminated in an armed clash at Amritsar on 13 April 1978 was neither new nor wholly unexpected. On 13 April 1951, Baisakhi Day, Amritsar itself was the scene of an ugly incident when the then Nirankari Chief, Baba Avtar Singh was holding a *Satsang* attended by about 200 followers of the faith. At that time Sikhs clashed with the Baba and the followers leaving many injured.¹

Although the practice of keeping *Guru Granth Sahib* in the Nirankari congregation was discontinued from the Baisakhi Day of 1951, tensions of varying intensity have been occurring all these years at different places in Punjab, mainly in the districts of Amritsar and Gurdaspur.

Chowk Mehta, Amritsar was the scene of another clash which occurred on 15 September 1973. Yet another incident took place at Ludhiana on September 23 1973, resulting in injuries to 85 persons as a result of a police *lathi* charge. On 17 September 1977², at Pathankot, a Nirankari congregation was stoned and the mission vehicles were damaged. A serious clash was reported from Ghuman in Gurdaspur district while at Qadian some uneasy movements were witnessed on 19 September 1977, when the Nirankaris complained of being attacked by some of their Sikh opponents. The incident at Qadian led thousands of Nirankaris hold a demonstration in front of the Punjab Secretariat at Chandigarh on 20 September 1977.

Genesis:

The Nirankari movement was founded by Baba Dayal, who was born at Peshawar in 1783. Prof. Harbans Singh³, writing about the Singh Sabha Movement observed, "Baba Dayal a saintly man, was a contemporary of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. He had cavilled at the shortcomings of the mighty and assailed the rites and observances undermining the Sikh faith. His main targets were the worshippers of images against which he preached vigorously. He re-emphasised the Sikh belief in Nirankar- 'The Formless One'. Baba Dayal gathered around him a substantial number of admirers. He raised a congregational slogan :

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1. *The Tribune*, April 14, 1951, p.1.
2. *The Tribune*, Sept. 18, 1977, p.1.
3. *The Sikh Review*, 1972.

“Japo piario dhann Nirankar,
 Jo deh dhari sab khwar.”
 (Praise be to the Formless Creator;
 Worship of mortals is of no avail)

The Nirankaris ran into opposition first from Hindu Brahmins and, after Baba Dayal moved from Peshawar to Rawalpindi, from the Bedi descendants of Guru Nanak who had a large following in the district. The Nirankaris were ostracised by both the Hindus and the Sikhs and had to build their own places of worship.⁴ After Baba Dayal died on 30 January 1855, his mission was taken over by Baba Darbara Singh, the eldest of his three sons. Baba Darbara Singh realized that Sikhism could be preserved, in all its purity, only by a complete break from a Brahmanical influence. He wanted a complete break with prevalent superstitions and meaningless rituals.⁵

After India's partition, the Nirankaris migrated to India leaving behind their main centre at Rawalpindi and more than 60 sub-centres in Pakistan. In India the founder of the 'Sant Nirankari Mission' was Baba Buta Singh who broke away from the Nirankaris in the 1930's. This Sant Nirankari sub-sect led by Buta Singh gained a larger following than the parent body. Buta Singh was succeeded by Baba Avtar Singh. On Avtar Singh's death in 1963, his son Baba Gurbachan Singh was installed as Guru.⁶

Baba Avtar Singh as the Guru of Sant Nirankaris, had composed his *Avtar Bani* and *Yug Pursh*. So Sant Nirankaris based their teachings on these two religious books. To orthodox Sikhs, both *Avtar Bani* and *Yug Pursh* undermined the sanctity of *Shri Guru Granth Sahib* and contained unholy references to the Sikh Gurus. There was a constant demand from the Sikhs before the Government to proscribe both these books. The other major objection to the Sant Nirankaris was that the Nirankari chief had committed the cardinal sin of proclaiming himself a Guru in the presence of *Guru Granth Sahib*. It was an article of Sikh faith that only the holy book, *Shri Guru Granth Sahib*, was the 'living' embodiment of the ten gurus.⁷

These acts of the Sant Nirankaris made them extremely unorthodox in the eyes of the Sikhs nurtured on the doctrines of the Singh Sabhas.⁸ The publication of a book on the nature, affluence and influence of the Sant Nirankaris brought them into clearer focus.⁹

On the Baisakhi of 1978, the Nirankari Guru, Baba Gurbachan Singh held a congregation at Amritsar. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale regarded Baba Gurbachan Singh's congregation in the holiest city of the Sikhs on the day when

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4. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume II, OUP, New Delhi, p. 124.
 5. Man Singh Nirankari, "Popular Religion in the Punjab Today".
 6. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume II, OUP, New Delhi, p. 333.
 7. Khushwant Singh, *A History of the Sikhs*, Volume II, OUP, New Delhi, p. 331.
 8. J.S. Grewal, *The Sikhs of the Punjab*, Cambridge Press, New Delhi.
 9. Balwant Gargi, *Nirankari Baba*, Thomson Press, Delhi, 1973.

Guru Gobind Singh had instituted the Khalsa, as an affront to the entire Khalsa Panth. The Akali-Janata government could neither persuade the Sant Nirankaris from holding their annual congregation in some other city of Punjab nor took preemptive action against Bhindranwale to prevent his disrupting it.

The trouble started shortly after a huge procession of the Nirankaris found its way through the city and terminated peacefully about 11.30 a.m. at the 'B' Block Railway Colony grounds where the Nirankaris were observing their 'Manav Ekta Sammelan Day'¹⁰. At the nearby Manji Sahib Gurudwara, the Baisakhi festival was being celebrated in a big way with several Akali leaders addressing the congregation. At one point of time, the Revenue Minister, Mr. Jiwan Singh Umranangal, was asked by Sant Jarnail Singh and some of his followers to stop the Nirankari Sammelan which they felt was against the tenets of Sikhism. But Mr. Umranangal, considering the time told them that the Nirankaris' procession had ended and there was no need to do anything now. This however did not satisfy many and between 150 and 200 people headed for the Nirankari Sammelan grounds.

The anti-Nirankari Jatha marching towards the Nirankaris was intercepted by a police contingent. The Jatha had little difficulty in breaking through the police cordon. This was the signal for both sides to start throwing brickbats at each other. Sensing trouble, the Nirankaris had forearmed themselves with guns, firearms and sharp-edged weapons. In the scuffle that ensued *lathis*, swords, sharp-edged weapons were used and gunshots were fired from several directions. Seventeen persons were killed and more than 100 injured in the violent clash between two groups.¹¹ According to unofficial reports, 8 persons died on the spot while the remaining succumbed to their injuries in the hospital. Among the dead was Fauja Singh, an agricultural inspector of the Punjab Government.

Surprisingly, the Nirankari Sammelan attended by about 1 Lakh people continued after the clash for about 3 hours and their religious head, Baba Gurbachan Singh addressed it.¹²

Giani Ajmer Singh, secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal said about 150 peaceful Sikhs with a high tradition of discipline and commanding great respect had gone to the Nirankari Sammelan to 'request them not to say anything against the Sikh religion. The Nirankaris, he alleged, had retaliated, causing death and injuries. On learning about the violent clash, Punjab Chief Minister, S. Parkash Singh Badal and Akali Dal President, S. Jagdev Singh Talwandi rushed back from Bombay.

The clash catapulted Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale to fame and as head of Damdami Taksal brought Damdami Taksal into sharp focus. The word 'Taksal' means mint and it is so used to describe the Sikh schools which preach the pure and unalloyed message of the Gurus. The Damdami Taksal is an influential school

10. *Hindustan Times*, April 14, 1978, p. 1.

11. *The Tribune*, April 14, 1978, p.1.

12. *Hindustan Times*, April 14, 1978, p. 1.

founded by one of the great heroes of Sikhism, Baba Deep Singh.¹³ The Damdami Taksal, he founded had been in the vanguard of the fight against Sikh apostasy for 200 years till the time Jarnail Singh joined it. It preaches strict adherence to Sikh principles and had strong faith in leading a puritan way of life.

Jarnail Singh soon became the favourite of the head of the Taksal, Kartar Singh Bhindranwale. In the year 1977 Kartar Singh was fatally injured in a road accident and subsequently after his death, Jarnail Singh, and not Kartar Singh's son Amrik Singh succeeded to the leadership of Damdami Taksal. On assuming the status of 'Sant' or Saint and as head of Damdami Taksal, he became more virulent in his attack on the Nirankaris till the clash of 1978 took place in which 13 of his followers were dead. The anti-Nirankari sentiments were whipped up at the *Bhog* Ceremony on 22 April, 1978 which was attended by thousands of Sikhs from all walks of life, in which 13 slain Sikhs were declared martyrs.

Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale addressing himself to Mr. Parkash Singh Badal, Mr. Gurcharan Singh and Mr. Jagdev Singh Talwandi said "You asked for time to give us justice and we shall wait. Please take care that the time is not wasted". Further addressing the congregation he said, "If the leaders showed any weakness and we did not get justice, I shall be the first to offer myself for the sacrifice".¹⁴

As a preventive measure, there was locking up of Nirankari Bhawans by the police all over the state and no permission was granted to the Nirankaris to hold their weekly congregations. The officers in the bureaucracy with Nirankari leanings were targetted which resulted in lot of resentment against the Government. On 7 October 1978, the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai said that he had categorically instructed the Punjab Government to provide all necessary safeguards to the Nirankaris and other religious minorities in the State and guarantee them full freedom of worship and right of religious discourse. The Prime Minister further stated that "Nobody should be allowed to stop the congregations of any sect or allowed to interfere in the religious beliefs of others".¹⁵ The freedom of worship is guaranteed by the Constitution. The Constitutional position stated that it was the case for a judicial probe. It was said on the behalf of the Nirankari sect that they are a peaceful, law abiding people, that they harm nobody. They follow their own chosen path, do not interfere with people of other faiths and would like to be left alone. And pointed accusing finger at the Akali Government headed by S. Parkash Singh Badal.

In order to instill confidence among the Nirankaris, the Union Government gave them the permission to hold their Nirankari Samagam in New Delhi. On 4 November 1978, the three day Nirankari Samagam started on the India Gate lawns under tight police security.¹⁶ The Nirankaris fortified their tented township

13. Mark Tully & Satish Jacob, *Amritsar : Mrs. Gandhi's Last Battle*, Rupa and Co., New Delhi, 1985, p. 53.

14. *The Tribune*, April 23, 1978, p.1.

15. *The Tribune*, October 8, 1978, p.1.

16. *Hindustan Times*, Nov. 5, 1978, p.1.

and congregation 'shamiana' with a nine foot high wall of steel corrugated sheets. A big posse of the armed constabulary and the CRPF was posted all around the venue.

The atmosphere was particularly tense, after the violence at the previous two congregations at Amritsar and Kanpur and especially by the protest call given by Mr. Jaswant Singh Sethi, President of the Delhi Gurudwara Parbandhak Committee. The protest march was to start from Gurudwara Bangla Sahib in the wake of the burning of *Shri Guru Granth Sahib* at a Delhi Gurudwara and permission given to the Nirankaris to hold their annual congregation ignoring Sikh sentiments.

On 5 November 1978, curfew was clamped on several areas adjoining Gurudwara Bangla Sahib following pitched battles between the Akalis and the police which took a toll of three lives. About 100 persons, including 50 policemen were injured. Among those killed was Jathedar Avtar Singh Kohli, President of the Delhi State Akali Dal (Jathedar Santokh Singh group).¹⁷

The tension reached to such a level that on 7 November, 1978 the Union Agriculture and Irrigation Minister, Mr. Surjit Singh Barnala and the Minister of State for Education, Mr. Dhanna Singh Gulshan resigned from the Union Cabinet. Once again the Constitutional clause which guarantees every citizen of the country the right to profess, practice and propagate the faith of his choice was invoked. The issue of Sikh-Nirankari clash was much more than one of law and order. "It involved the right of a group of citizens— howsoever controversial their faith and public image—to free worship as long as they remained peaceful and abided by the prescribed regulations."¹⁸

New strains of tension developed when the Akali Dal Government had allowed the case against the Nirankaris, who were accused of killing Sikhs during the Amritsar clash, to be transferred to a court in the neighbouring state of Haryana and it even more infuriated the hardliners when the Haryana Court found them not guilty. Earlier the Nirankaris had pleaded that they would not get justice from a Punjab Court. The tension between the Sikhs and the Nirankaris continued to simmer and on 19 March, 1979, an unsuccessful attempt was made on the Nirankari Baba's life when he was on his way to Durg in Madhya Pradesh.

The final stage in the tension was reached when on 24 April 1980, the head of the Nirankari religious sect, Baba Gurbachan Singh and his body guard Mr. Pratap Singh, were shot dead at Gurbachan Niwas in Nirankari Colony in North Delhi. This was followed by a phase of accusations and counter-accusations with simmering discontent and disbelief on the side of Nirankaris and the Sikhs. However, with the passage of time, better sense prevailed upon both the sides and no major untoward incident was reported thereafter.

17. *The Tribune*, Nov. 6, 1978, Chandigarh, p.1.

18. Editorial - 'Akali Hardliners Win' *The Tribune*, Nov. 8, 1978 p. 4.

EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN HAND TOOL INDUSTRY IN PUNJAB – A CASE STUDY OF JALANDHAR CITY

Sarbjit Kaur & Balbir Singh***

The term small scale industries is often used in context of industrial units which have made a smaller investment in fixed capital assets and employ a smaller number of workers as compared to large scale industrial units. These industries have an important role in solving many of India's economic problems. The significant growth of small scale industries since independence has been on the account of their overwhelming role in the attainment of major economic objectives. As per the third All India Census of Small Scale Industries held for the year 2001-02, there were 105.21 lakh small scale industrial units in India. This sector employs an estimated 31 million persons spread over 12.8 million enterprises and the labour intensity in this sector is estimated to be almost four times higher than the large enterprises.

It seems that every time there is some external adverse factor, the Indian industry seems to get badly hit; otherwise it seems to do just fine. Even global trade statistics and Indian export statistics suggest that India is riding piggy back on the growth in global trade. That means when the going is good, it rides the wave, and when the going gets tough, there is very little internal strength for it to sustain itself. The thought process, and the actions that we take, need to reflect - product, people, process and technology. The government also presents a mixed bag of actions and inaction, because there is no clear growth vision that is strongly lobbied by the entire industry.¹

Punjab has nearly 300 hand tool units, primarily in the small and tiny sectors. The local hand tools industry has an estimated annual turnover of Rs.750crore, of which over Rs.500crore is from export income. Lack of initiative in developing new and quality products with little attention in pricing, is rendering manufacturers uncompetitive. The hand tools industry showed a 20-25 percent growth in the '70s, and then jumped to 30-35 per cent in the '80s and early '90s. But since '97, there has been a downward slide. Several units are closing up.²

The growth rate of production has decreased at a high rate during the

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1. Devangshu Dutta, "Indian Exports in 2005: One of Seven Missing Wonders", (2002), www.just-style.com
2. Rahul Kumar, "China blunts India's edge in hand tools market", *The Economic Times* (Oct. 24, 2002).

period of globalization. Because of open market, other countries sell their products easily in our market at lesser prices which reduce the demand of domestic products and affect the domestic production.³

The major export markets are the US and the European Union, which account for 50 per cent of total exports from Punjab. Exporters supply hand tools to major retail chains like Wal-Mart, B&Q and Home Depot. After a decline in 2006-07 and 2007-08, in 2008-09, exports were worth Rs.894.81 crore.⁴

India has been hit by the global meltdown. It is clearly due to India's rapid and growing integration into the global economy. So, the need of today is not just the pumping of liquidity into the Indian Economy but also in addition the injection of demand. Larger government expenditure has to be oriented towards agriculture, rural development, health, human resources and infrastructure to make inclusive and balanced growth.⁵

The government industrial policies lay adequate emphasis on the development of small scale industries. The process of economic liberalization and market reforms, while exposing the Indian micro and small enterprises to increasing levels of domestic and global competition, has also opened up attractive possibilities of access to larger markets. A large number of items have been reserved for the small scale sector. There has been a gradual process of the de-reservation of the items over time. Presently, 114 items are reserved for small scale sector. The present study has been confined to the economic analysis of hand tools industry only, which is reserved for small scale sector.

The term Hand Tool is generally applied to the tools used by hand. These are quite small sized tools, but are essential for erection and maintenance of plants, machinery and equipment. The use of hand tools covers almost all types of industries, viz. engineering, electrical and electronics, construction, plumbing etc., different types of servicing industries; and also certain types of production processes irrespective of their sizes and scales of operations i.e. small, medium or large. Absence of these hand tools would in fact paralyse every type of industrial activity. Hand tools, commonly used in industries, are wrenches, hand drills, pullers, hammers, screw-drivers, spanners, clamps etc. Hand tools are made of a wide variety of metals and wood.

The hand tools industry in India consists of large, medium scale units as well as small scale units. But most of the hand tools manufacturing units are concentrated in the small scale sector. The hand tools industry is basically labour intensive providing employment to both skilled and unskilled labour as the manufacturing process requires manual handling and intervention. The hand tools industry in India is export oriented competing directly with other global players.

3. Dr. Rajeev Kansal and Sonia, "Globalization and its impact on small scale industries in India", *PCMA Journal of Business*, Vol. 1, No.2, June 2009, pp.135-146.
4. Vijay C. Roy, "Punjab hand tool makers expect higher exports", *The Business Standard*, (March 16, 2010),
5. Bhatt Rajeev Kumar, "Recent Global recession and Indian economy: An Analysis", *International Journal of Trade Economics and Finance*, Vol. 2, No. 3, June 2010, pp.212-217.

There are three major clusters for hand tools in India located in Jalandhar and Ludhiana in Punjab and Nagaur in Rajasthan. These clusters contribute 95 per cent of the total hand tools produced in the country.

With the partition of the country in 1947, a large number industrialists and artisans from West Pakistan migrated to India. Some of them started small manufacturing units for their survival. Certain incentives given by the government helped these people to rehabilitate themselves and set up their industries. At that time there were restrictions on the imports of various items, including hand tools. So the domestic hand tool industry got a comparative advantage in the home market. This, together with increased effective demand in this sector, led to induced investment. In such economic conditions, the hand tool industry of Punjab grew rapidly. As Punjab is located far away from sources of raw materials such as iron, steel and coal, the freight equalization scheme of the central government gave a big push to the hand tool industries. The natural dynamism of Punjabi entrepreneurs helped it capture markets not only in the country but also abroad. There is quite extensive and exhaustive product range availability in Jalandhar compared to other areas of concentration. The industry in the small scale sector, by adopting labour-intensive technology, provides employment to thousands of people in the state.

Jalandhar is the most important production and export centre for hand tools in the country. It alone accounts for about 60 per cent of the hand tools exports of India.

In Jalandhar, though the first unit was established in 1950, it was only after 1965 that the latest technologies were introduced. The units in the cluster are predominantly in the small scale sector. These enterprises are producing a large variety of products. The main products are spanners, wrenches, screwdrivers, pliers etc. Unlike the other two concentration areas, most of the units in Jalandhar export their product. Some of them even export 100 per cent of their product. The present study is an attempt

1. To examine the nature of employment in hand tools industry in Jalandhar city.
2. To analyse the problems of workers as well as of the entrepreneurs.

The present study deals with the economic analysis of hand tools industry in Jalandhar City. The scope of this study is to elaborate the employment structure of this industry. The nature of the study suggests using primary data for getting reasonable logical results. The primary data have been mainly used and very little secondary data have also been used where required. As it was difficult to study each and every unit, a sampling procedure had been adopted. In this study, stratified random sampling method was used to collect the data. The figures of the hand tools units in Jalandhar had been obtained from District Industrial Centre, Jalandhar. Entire population was divided into 5 sub-groups according to the location of the industrial units. The effective sample of 40 manufacturing units had been selected.

The study was conducted in two stages. In the first stage, the field survey

had been undertaken, covering only the manufacturing units. The traders had been ignored. In the second stage, data collected during the first stage were compiled, tabulated and analysed.

For the collection of data, a questionnaire was designed and pre-tested. The data were collected through personal interview method. Besides this, Central Institute of Hand Tools and District Industrial Centre were also contacted for information. The available information had been compiled and tabulated. In this stage various ratios were calculated to analyse the proportion of different components. These ratios included growth rate, capital labour ratio etc. The results obtained from these ratios were compared.

Table 1 shows the growth of employment in Hand Tool industry of Punjab. Though total employment was found to be increased from 2005-06 to 2007-08, but it decreased in the next years. There was 2.84 per cent increase in employment in Hand Tool Industry of Punjab during the period of one year i.e. from 2005-06 to 2006-07. Next year it was 9.59 per cent. Negative growth was seen in the next two years i.e. in 2008-09 and 2009-10. Thus it was clear from the data that Hand Tool Industry was basically a labour intensive industry and the impact of global recession could be seen as the decrease in total employment in this industry. The reason was that the hand tool industry of Punjab was basically an export oriented industry. As per the government records almost 95 per cent of the total manufacturing of the hand tools of Punjab was exported to the different countries of the world. So, due to the global recession exports declined in this industry and so the employment.

Table 2 shows the growth of number of workers in Hand Tool industry of Jalandhar. The data based on the sample survey show that number of workers was 1389 in 2005-06 in the sub-group I of Jalandhar. It increased to 1541 in 2007-08 and then declined in the next two years. In the case of sub-group II of Jalandhar, the number of workers increased from 2617 in 2005-06 to 2820 in 2006-07 and then declined in the next three years. The reason behind the negative growth rate of workers was that most of the workers were from other states. They were getting employment in their own states. So, there was shortage of cheap labour in the hand tool industry as told by the entrepreneurs during survey. Growth rates of number of employees remained positive throughout the period of five years i.e. from 2005-06 to 2009-10 (as shown in **Table 2** and **Table 3**).

Distribution of the units on the basis of labour service in terms of number of workers is given in **Table 4**. As shown in **Table 4**, a little half of the units were such where number of workers was less than 40 and these accounted for 17 units i.e. 42.5 per cent of the total. Only 3 units i.e. 7.5 per cent were such where number of workers was lying between 80 and 100. There were 22 units i.e. 55 per cent which were employing workers less than 80 and 15 units i.e. 37.5 per cent were having number of workers even more than 100.

Employment as a measure of firm size can also be expressed in terms of labour hours. Distribution of the units on the basis of labour hours is given in

Table 5.

As shown in **Table 5**, 18 units i.e. 45 per cent of the total sample units were employing below one lakh labour hours in a year and 5 units i.e. 12.50 per cent were employing labour hours in a year between 1 lakh to 2 lakh. Besides, 11 units i.e. 27.50 per cent were employing labour hours between 2 lakh to 10 lakh and 6 units i.e. 15 per cent were such where total labour hours employed in a year were more than 10 lakh.

Thus from both the tables i.e. **Table 4** as well as **Table 5**, we could conclude that most of the units were employing much less labour or labour hours. Thus if employment was considered to measure the size of firms, we found much disparities among these units of hand tools in Jalandhar city. During survey, it had also been noted that majority of units, which were employing comparatively lesser workers, also working only in single shift. On the other hand where the number of workers was greater, the units were working up to two or even three shifts. It was found that the some units had sufficient demand for their tools in the market while others were facing shrinking demand day by day. The owners of the units also told that they were in better condition a few years ago. As the competition was rising and fluctuations in the market of raw material as well as in the market of finished product were increasing, these units were struggling for their survival.

Majority of the workers employed in Hand Tool industry of Jalandhar city, were unskilled. As shown in **Table 6**, in both the subgroups and in aggregate, most of the workers were unskilled. This condition was more in favour of unskilled labour force in 27 units of subgroup I. At aggregate level and in 13 units of subgroup II, conditions were almost similar.

The reasons behind this may be, enterprises were facing competition in the market and so they had to cut down the prices of the tools. To maintain the profit rate, they had to adopt other methods for cutting down the cost of production. As it was difficult to adopt new techniques and as more labour intensive techniques were used in these units, so, they tried to find out labour at lower wages. Unskilled labour force was available at lower wages as compared to skilled labour force. Also in this industry not much higher skill was needed as not much advance technique was adopted in this industry. More physical strength was needed as work was very hard. Workers were hired on experience basis and not on skill basis. One thing was also noted during the survey that most of the workers were illiterate and from the other states i.e. Bihar and U.P. The reason told by the owners of the firms was that there was shortage of local labour and they had to employ them. Though it was quite true but there seemed another major reason that the unskilled labour was employed to cut down the cost of production as this labour was available at lower wages. Social reasons were also not avoidable as most of the Punjabi youth was not interested in such work as told by the owners of the units. Social pattern was changing and so there was shortage of local labour. Thus enterprises got able to exploit them to increase their profits.

Majority of the workers employed in the hand tools industry, were on casual

basis as shown in **Table 7**. The number of permanent workers was much less as compared to the number of casual workers. In 40 units of sample we found that more than 80 per cent of workers were working on casual basis. In units of subgroup I, this percentage was even more and that was 87.55 per cent. Here only 12.45 per cent of workers were employed on permanent basis. If units of subgroup II were considered, it was found that condition was slightly better than that of subgroup I. Here 21.73 per cent of workers were permanent and 78.27 per cent of workers were working on casual basis.

Major reason, as told by the owners of these units, was shortage of local labour. Most of the workers were from other states. They were illiterate and unskilled. They used to go back to their homes during harvest season especially from April to June. So, there was no guarantee for their coming back. When the workers got trained in their work, they left the job. This was the major reason for casualization among the workers as told by the owners. One another important reason was found during the survey and it was that owners of the firms were not much interested in permanent workers. To increase their own profits and to cut down the cost of production in this competitive era, they wanted to employ cheaper labour. As not much skilled workers were needed in this industry, unskilled workers were employed at lower wages and at casual basis. The firms had to pay higher wages and required incentives to the permanent workers. Also when there was slow down in business, permanent workers could not be detained but casual workers could be detained any time. This thing helped in reducing the cost of production. Entrepreneurs were not ready to pay wages to idle workers when there was no work. So, casualization among the workers was increasing. Also in the units of subgroup I where comparatively less capital was employed in business as compared to the units of subgroup II, profit of margin was also less because their average cost was comparatively higher. So, such units were much interested in unskilled as well as in casual work force.

Also there was lack of advance technology. To reduce the cost of production, there were only two alternatives one is to use the labour saving technique, so that average cost of production could be reduced. But there was hardly any such technical upgradation which took place over the years in our sample units. There was lack of research in India and imported technology was very expensive. So another alternative was to employ cheaper labour which was used by the entrepreneurs of hand tool units in Jalandhar city.

One of the major problems in the field of production is that of choosing between alternative techniques. Many alternatives are available and amount of capital per unit of labour varies widely from technique to technique. In this analysis capital intensity was measured as capital labour ratio. Capital labour ratio was calculated for each sample unit as well as for both subgroups and for aggregate 40 units (**Table 8 & Table 9**). Capital labour ratio explains the amount of capital employed per unit of labour (labour hour). Higher the ratio indicates more capital or less labour used in production process and vice versa.

In most of the units capital labour ratio was less as shown in **Table 8**. In 13 units (32.5 per cent) this ratio was even less than 60 and in 16 units i.e. 40 per cent of the total sample units, this ratio was lying between 60 and 120. Thus about 72.5 per cent units were such where capital labour ratio was less than 120. Only two units i.e. 5 per cent were such where capital labour ratio was more than 180. Thus labour was much important in this industry in Jalandhar city.

If capital labour ratio of both subgroups is compared, we found that this ratio was more in case of subgroup I i.e. 91.17. For subgroup II this ratio was found to be 79.75 and at aggregate level for 40 units it was 81.88. So, it is clear from **Table 9** that in the units of subgroup I were comparatively more labour intensive technique was used and in the units of subgroup II comparatively more labour saving technique was used. At aggregate level this ratio was 81.88, showing the labour intensive nature of Hand Tool industry of Jalandhar city.

Disparities among the hand tool units of Jalandhar city regarding production and man power were shown in **Table 10**. We found that both production and manpower employed in the hand tool units were more favourable to the units of subgroup II. There was a marginal share i.e. only 2.4 per cent of total production of 40 sample units, of the units of subgroup I and the units of subgroup II were contributing 97.6 per cent of total production of 40 sample units. Thus more units were contributing less and fewer units were contributing more. If total manpower was considered, situation was not found much different. About 23 per cent of manpower was employed in the units of subgroup I and about 77 per cent of manpower, employed in the units of subgroup II.

Overtime facility was available for workers only in relatively large units where workers were working in two to three shifts of 8 hours. In relatively small units there was not such facility.

Except in few units, not many incentives to workers were given in the hand tool industry of Jalandhar city. Only in few units, bonus or other such incentives were given to the workers. Otherwise only some gifts like sweets or other small items were given to the workers on festivals. In Jalandhar city, there is separate hospital for the workers of industry where health services are available to the workers at government charges. But during survey, it was found that there was no any dispensary for first aid for injured workers in the firms. Some of the units were located in the residential areas. There was not proper ventilation. In most of the units coal furnaces were used. Work was very hard, especially in summer season. Fans or coolers could not be used near the furnaces.

Average wages were much lower than standard wage rate. Most of the workers were paid even less than Rs. 2000. Helpers were paid much less i.e. even less than Rs. 1000. No doubt there were some workers who were getting about Rs. 10,000 or a little more. This amount was given in a few firms and to a few workers who had been working in the unit since more than 10 years. Wages were given according to the experience of the workers and not according to their qualification. As most of the workers were illiterate and unskilled, so, qualification

as the basis of wages could not be possible. Small wages was one of the reasons that workers were not remained stick to only one unit. Where they got a little higher wages, they shifted to that job. Industrialization in Bihar was responsible for shortage of labour in the hand tools industry, as told by the owners of the units. It was found that workers were not interested in working in these units at such a low wage rate if they could get even more or may be same wage rate in their native land i.e. in their own states.

As in the hand tool units work was very hard, it was not suitable for female workers. Such work required more physical strength. So, women workers were hardly seen in these units. In some of the units one or two women were there in the office only. In most of the units there was no any office staff member because the owner himself managed the whole work process. Accountants were working at part time as well as at regular basis. So, there was for other staff members as business was not at such a large scale. Same is the case for child labourers. Children were also not suitable for such a hard work in these units.

It could be said that as Capital Labour ratio was lower in subgroup II (which consists of small number of units) implies that hand tool units were labour intensive i.e. have more scope for providing employment to the people. The study also has revealed that the small hand tools units in Jalandhar are highly labour intensive. Though capital and labour were the key inputs in this industry, but labour remained the main, particularly with small units. The skill availability in these units was mostly traditional and experience based. The overall level of formal education was very low. More than three-fourth of the labour force was unskilled. It was also found during the survey that there was shortage of local labour. Most of the workers were from other states. There was severe shortage of labour force especially during harvest season. Mostly there were the unskilled workers, getting very low wages. Industrialization in Bihar was another reason of shortage of workers, as told by the owners of hand tools units. This was also the reason for casualization among workers. There was uncertainty for job among these workers and they were getting very low wages i.e. about Rs. 2500 per month. The owners of the units also preferred to employ casual labour so that they could easily relieve them from services during the period of crises in the market for their product.

Table 1**Employment in Hand Tool Industry in Punjab**

Year	(Numbers)	(Per cent)
	Employment	Growth rate
2005-06	17558	—
2006-07	18058	2.84
2007-08	19790	9.59
2008-09	19534	-1.29
2009-10	18900	-3.24

Source: Various issues of Statistical Abstract of Punjab, Government of Punjab.

Table 2**Number of Workers in Hand Tool Industry in Jalandhar**

Year	(Numbers)	
	Jalandhar	
	Sub-group 1	Sub-group 2
2005-06	1389	2617
2006-07	1527 (9.94)*	2820 (7.76)
2007-08	1541 (0.92)	2690 (-4.61)
2008-09	1486 (-3.57)	2420 (-10.04)
2009-10	1428 (-3.90)	2386 (-1.40)

Source: Primary Survey.

*Figures in the brackets are in percentage.

Table 3
Number of Employees in Hand Tool Industry in Jalandhar

(Numbers)

Year	Jalandhar	
	Sub-group 1	Sub-group 2
2005-06	89	225
2006-07	91 (2.25)*	246 (9.33)
2007-08	107 (17.58)	270 (9.76)
2008-09	112 (4.67)	286 (5.93)
2009-10	115 (2.68)	308 (7.69)

Source: Primary Survey.

**Figures in the brackets are in percentage.*

Table 4
Enterprises by Total Manpower

Manpower	Number Of Units
Below 40	17 (42.50)*
40-80	5 (12.50)
80-100	3 (07.50)
100-200	7 (17.50)
200 and above	8 (20.00)
Total	40(100.00)

Source: Primary Survey.

**Figures in the brackets are percentages to the total.*

Table 5
Enterprises by Labour Hours

Labour Hours in a Year	Number of Units
Below 1 lakh	18 (45.00)*
1 lakh to 2 lakh	5(12.50)
2 lakh to 10 lakh	11 (27.50)
10 lakh and above	6 (15.00)
Total	40(100.00)

Source: Primary Survey

**Figures in the brackets are percentages to the total.*

Table 6
Distribution of Workers between
Skilled and Unskilled categories

(Percent)

	Skilled Workers	Unskilled Workers	Total
Sub group I	9.20	90.80	100.00
Sub group II	13.50	86.50	100.00
Aggregate	12.50	87.50	100.00

Source: Primary Survey.

Table 7
Distribution of Workers between
Permanent and Casual categories

(Percent)

	Permanent	Casual	Total
Sub group I	12.45	87.55	100.00
Sub group II	21.73	78.27	100.00
Aggregate	19.59	80.41	100.00

Source: Primary Survey.

Table 8
Capital Labour Ratio

Capital Labour Ratio	Number of Units
Below 60	13 (32.50)*
60-120	16(40.00)
120-180	9 (22.50)
180 and above	2(5.00)
Total	40(100.00)

Source: Primary Survey.

**Figures in the brackets are percentages to the total.*

Table 9
Comparison between Capital Labour Ratios

	Subgroup I	Subgroup II	Aggregate
Capital Labour Ratio	91.17	79.75	81.88

Source: Primary Survey

Table 10
Distribution of Production and Manpower between both Subgroups

	Subgroup I	Subgroup II	Aggregate
Production	2.40	97.60	100.00
Manpower	23.01	76.99	100.00

Source: Primary Survey

COMPARISON OF SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC STATUS OF INDUSTRIAL MIGRANT AND LOCAL LABOURERS

Shruti Mehra, Gian Singh** & Balwinder Singh****

India is ranked quite low among the countries of the world with respect to degree of urbanization. The situation in the urban areas is worsening due to overall increase in population and rural-urban migration. It has been projected that by 2021 percentage of urban population to total population will be 43.70 per cent. Unlike developed countries where growing industrialization corresponds to growing urbanization, the growth of urbanization is not matched by the industrialization in the developing countries. This situation may lead to disproportionate allocation of resources to the development of urban than rural areas which would not be good for the growth of the Indian economy which is basically an agrarian economy.¹

India is one of the developing countries whose growth rate is increasing steadily as compared to previous years. The increasing growth rate has led to increase in towns and cities both quantitatively and qualitatively.² With increase in the size and number of the towns and cities there has been a rapid increase of population. Apart from the natural change in the birth and the death rates, migration is becoming an important factor of urbanisation, social change, development and demographic issues.³ While some areas of the country have developed manifolds, many are left far behind and do not have the capacity to support population. Thus, industrialisation has widened the gap between the rural and urban areas. Recently, there has been an increase in the concern about labour absorption in the urban areas which is worsening due to increase in job seekers and limited availability of the jobs. Thus, migration of job seekers is reducing the capacity of absorption of labour of both industrial and service sectors.⁴

The focus of present study is on the industrial migrant labourers who have migrated from different parts of the country, especially the rural areas to the

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1. A. Subhiah, "Effects of Urbanisation in India", *Rural India*, Vol. 64, No. (1-12), 2001, pp. 99-100.
2. G. B. Singh, "Urbanisation and Labour", *Manpower Journal*, Vol. X(2), July- September, 1974, pp. 73-85.
3. K. Sensarma, "Migrant Labour in Urban Areas: Dimensions and Determinants", *Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol. 40, No. 2, April- June, 1997, pp. 237-250.
4. G. S. Mehta, "Employment Structure and Earnings of Migrant Workers in Urban Economy", *Manpower Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, January- March, 1996, pp. 29- 41.

industries in Ludhiana city. It is believed that migration of labour force from rural to urban areas in different countries of the world, especially in the third world countries, is not a new phenomenon. Rural to urban migration may be in different forms like: seasonal migration, which is one of the forms of diversification that takes place in the rural areas; and circular migration, under which the rural households shift their dependence for livelihood temporarily from local to external far off areas. They maintain close links with their areas of origin where they return regularly and remit substantial part of their incomes.⁵

The expansion of population in urban areas is a consequence of three main factors which are natural growth of population, rural-urban migration and reclassification of rural areas as urban areas over a period of time. One of the causes of growth of urbanisation or industrialisation in urban areas was manifold increase in pressure of population on cultivable land which lead to unemployment or underemployment and thus, fostering rural-urban migration. However, the supply of labour to the formal sector exceeds the demand and hence, the surplus labour gets employed in the informal sector. In other words, excessive rural-urban migration leads to excessive urban employment and under employment. Many of the researchers share the view that migrant labourers tend to get employed in better paid jobs as compared to their non-migrant counterparts at the place of origin because the active labour force which is motivated to migrate to get high paid jobs, migrate at a younger age and usually possess high levels of educational, productive skills and efficiency as compared to not only their non-migrant counterparts but also locals at the place of destination. The proportion of migrants in the productive sector like manufacturing and services is higher than that of locals.⁶

Initially, majority of the migrants get engaged in the informal sector due to lack of labour market information at the place of destination but then eventually shift to the formal sector).⁷ The migrants, who are unskilled with less educational and technical qualifications, become a part of the informal sector. Most of these labourers are casual or temporary labourers and are paid low wages. These labourers are at the mercy of the employers for the determination of their wages and are fully exploited. Individuals, who migrate due to poverty and unemployment, have no other alternative than to immediately take up a job and hence, get employed in this sector. The difference of wages among the labourers in this sector is high. Usually, migrant labourers in this sector earn lesser than their local counterparts.⁸

5. U. Rani and H.S. Shylendra, "Seasonal Migration and Rural-Urban Interface in Semi-Arid Tropics of Gujarat: Study of Tribal Village", *Journal of Rural Development*, Vol.20, No.2, 2001, pp.187-217.
6. Mehta, *op.cit.*, 1996.
7. A. S. Santhapparaj, "Job Search and Earnings of Migrants in Urban Labour Market: A Study of Madurai Metropolis", *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol.39, No.2, 1996, pp.269-286.
8. P. Duraisamy and S. Narasimhan, "Wage Differentials Between Migrants and Non-Migrants and Discrimination in Urban Informal Sector in India", *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1997, pp. 223-235.

Labourers who migrate with an expectation of getting employed in the formal sector are the ones who are more probable of getting the jobs in the same. Migrants with better educational and technical qualifications tend to get jobs in the urban formal sector. Urban experience of the migrants does not have any relation with their earning and thus, recent migrants can also earn as much as earlier migrants which thus, encourages the young people to migrate.⁹

With rural-urban migration becoming important and noticeable, the reasons and consequences of migration become a matter of concern. Rural-urban migration is a result of availability of diverse economic opportunities in the country. This kind of a scenario leads to urban poverty, development of slums in urban areas and increase of informal sector employment. In other words, urban ills are attributed to rural spills. There is a large influx of migration to urban areas, both from small towns, less developed states and rural areas. Due to growth, certain areas/regions attract business and grow at the expense of smaller areas/regions with fewer natural resources which thus, lead to unemployment, no access to essential services and less developed infrastructure. The change in socio-economic structure has led to a change in the pattern of migration in the modern era. People for economic well-being look for opportunities and hence, they migrate from areas with low opportunities to the ones with high opportunities. Among the various types of migration, rural-urban migration witnessed increasing trend as the opportunities tend to be higher in urban areas. Hence, people undertake rural-urban migration followed by migration to other developed rural areas.¹⁰ Rural to urban migration is both cause and effect of social and economic change in response to regional economic development, urbanization and industrialization.¹¹ Frequency of migration is high among people who are landless, illiterate and poor and those are pushed to migrate; while another category of migrants is the people who are well educated and economically sound, who are pulled. However, migration from both the categories depends upon the availability of resources.¹²

Continuous interaction of the rural or urban migrants with rural or urban worlds brings about significant socio-cultural changes. The magnitude of the migrants is largely dependent upon structural changes both at the place of origin and destination. The residents of the rural areas fight the poor resource base by taking up non-farm activities in rural areas or by migrating seasonally to urban areas.¹³ However, there are different effects of migration for those with different types of poverty and residence pattern.¹⁴

9. A.S. Santhapparaj, *op.cit.*

10. G.S. Mehta, "Characteristics and Economic Implications of Migration", *Journal of Rural Development*, Vol. 10, No. 6, 1991, pp. 731-744.

11. B.S. Bisht and P. C. Tiwari, "Occupational Pattern and Trend of Rural Out-migration: A Study of Gomti Watershed in Uttar Pradesh Himalaya", *Journal of Rural Development*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 1997, pp. 329-339.

12. G.S. Mehta, *op.cit.*, 1991.

13. U. Rani and H.S. Shylendra, *op.cit.*

14. D. A. Wenk and C. Hardesty, "The Effects of Rural to Urban Migration on the Poverty Status of Youth in the 1980's", *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 58, No. 1, 1993, pp. 76-92.

The objective of this research paper is to analyse the differences in the socio-economic and cultural way of life amongst the migrants and the local labourers working in the different type of industries in Ludhiana city.

For the present study a total of 500 industrial migrant labourers were surveyed from the small and large/medium scale industrial units of the hosiery & knitwear and cycle & cycle parts industry in Ludhiana city. Primary data were collected through structured questionnaire to record observations of the respondents. The data for industries were collected from District Centre of Industries (2007).

In order to study the socio-cultural and economic conditions of industrial migrant labourers it becomes important to compare them with the similar conditions of the local labourers. The comparison helps in understanding as to how far has migration affected the migrants. Also, it helps in understanding which and how the conditions of these labourers differ from the locals who are supposed to be more respected and trusted by the local society. This further indicates the scope of improvement on the part of the locals so as to retain them in that society.

(i) Socio-cultural Status

The Table 1 shows that as many as 90.40 per cent of migrant labourers working in various industrial units of the city were males as compared to 100.00 per cent male industrial local labourers. Majority of the industrial migrant labourers working in Ludhiana city (36.20 per cent) belonged to the age group of 18-28 years, whereas 37.50 percent of the industrial local labourers working in the same industrial units belonged to the same age group. Majority of migrant labourers (35.60 per cent) belonged to the age group of 29-38 years, while 39.50 per cent of the industrial local labourers belonged to the same age group. As many as 23.40 per cent and 8.80 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers belonged to the age group of 39- 48 years and above 48 years respectively, whereas the percentages of the industrial local labourers belonging to the same age group were 16.00 and 7.00 respectively.

As many as 77.20 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers were married as compared to only 60.00 per cent of the industrial local labourers. There was no widow/widower in the sample during the survey. Of the total 161 industrial migrant labourers who were married, only 24.84 per cent had working wives, whereas of the 120 industrial local labourers who were married, 98.33 per cent had their working wives. A larger percentage of industrial local labourers with working wives indicate the compulsion to improve economic status.

As much as 17.40 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers were illiterate, while the percentage of the same for industrial local labourers was only 3.50. The percentages of industrial migrant labourers that were educated up-to the level of primary were 26.00 as compared to 6.50 of the locals. The percentages of the industrial migrant and local labourers that had education up-to the level of middle were 23.00 and 16.50 respectively. However, 28.60 per cent of the industrial migrants and 53.50 per cent of local labourers respectively, were educated up-to

metric, whereas 5.00 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers were educated above the metric level as compared to 20.00 per cent of the industrial local labourers.

Table 1
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Industrial Local Labourers
according to Comparison of Social and Cultural Life

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Sex	500				
Male	452	90.40	200	100	
Female	48	9.60	0	0	
Age (Years)					
18-28	181	36.20	75.0	37.50	
29-38	178	35.60	79.0	39.50	
39-48	117	23.40	32.0	16.00	
More than 48	44	8.80	14.0	7.00	
Marital Status					
Married	386	77.20	120	60.00	
Unmarried	114	22.80	80	40.00	
Working Wife in Ludhiana City					
Yes	40	24.84	118	98.33	
No	121	75.16	2	1.67	
Educational Status					Chi-square
Illiterate	87	17.40	7	3.50	100.54***
Primary	130	26.00	13	6.50	
Middle	115	23.00	33	16.50	
Matric	168	28.60	107	53.50	
Above Matric	0	5.00	40	20.00	
Voter Card					Chi-square
Yes	395	79.00	190	95.00	26.64***
No	105	21.00	10	5.00	
Influence During Voting					Z-value
Employer	19	4.81	4	2.10	1.21
Union	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Friends	7	1.77	6	3.16	1.42
Self	365	92.41	180	94.74	4.89***
Others	4	1.01	0	0.00	1.27
You Invite Them At Family Functions					Chi-square
Yes	250	50.00	60	30.00	23.16***
No	250	50.00	140	70.00	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-09

Note: *** Significant at 1 per cent

As much as 79.00 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers and 95.00 per cent of the industrial local labourers possessed voter cards. A smaller percentage of the industrial migrant labourers with voter cards indicate lack of awareness of fundamental rights & duties, lack of desire to be informed, lack of knowledge of one's contribution to the government, laziness and also no desire to choose one's leader, as compared to the industrial local labourers. As much as 92.41 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers voted according to their own will, while this percentage was 94.74 for the industrial local labourers. The percentage of industrial migrant labourers that voted under the influence of their employer was 4.81 as compared to 2.10 of the industrial local labourers. As far as social bonding between the migrant and local industrial labourers is concerned, it was found that as much as 50.00 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers invited the industrial local labourers to their family functions or social ceremonies, while only 30.00 per cent of the industrial local labourers did the same.

(ii) Economic Status

Table 2 shows that as many as 15.80 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers owned houses as compared to 99.50 per cent of the industrial local labourers. The difference in these two kinds of labourers that owned a house was found to be significant as is evident by the Z value of 20.45. As many as 86.20 per cent and 96.50 per cent of the industrial migrant and local labourers respectively, working in various industrial units of Ludhiana city had the provision of electricity at their houses (owned or rented houses). The chi-square value of 15.66 indicates a significant relationship between the two types of industrial labourers and the provision of facility of electricity in their houses. As many as 82.20 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers had the facility of bathroom/toilet in their houses, while the percentage of industrial local labourers that had the same provision was 96.00. The chi-square value of 14.01 indicates a significant association between the type of labour and provision of facility of bathroom/toilet at place of their residence in Ludhiana city. The chi-square value of 1.55 indicates a non-significant relationship between type of labourers and provision of facility of water supply at the place of residence in Ludhiana city. The percentage of industrial local labourers that owned cattle/livestock was 20.50, while only 0.40 per cent of industrial migrant labourers possessed cattle/livestock. The difference between the two types of labourers was found to be significant as indicated by the Z value of 10.01.

Table 2
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Industrial Local Labourers
according to Comparison of Economic Status

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Ownership of house					Z-value
Yes	79	15.80	199	99.50	20.45***
No	421	84.20	1	0.50	
Provision of electricity at house					Chi-square
Yes	431	86.20	193	96.50	15.66***
No	69	13.80	7	3.50	
Provision of bathroom /toilet at house					Chi-square
Yes	411	82.20	192	96.00	14.01***
No	89	17.80	8	4.00	
Provision of water supply at house					Chi-square
Yes	471	94.20	193	96.50	1.55
No	29	5.80	7	3.50	
Ownership of cattle /livestock					Z-value
Yes	2	0.40	41	20.50	10.01***
No	498	99.60	159	79.50	
Under debt					Chi-square
Yes	186	37.20	42	21.00	17.07***
No	314	62.80	158	79.00	
Purpose of debt					Z-value
Education of children	0	0.00	0	0.00	NA
Consumption	23	12.37	5	11.90	0.08
Construction & main- tenance of houses	21	11.29	9	21.43	1.76*
Social and Religious ceremonies	40	21.50	4	9.52	1.94*
Others	102	54.84	24	57.15	0.27
Saving (Rs.)					t-value
Nil	124	24.80	97	48.50	
Up-to 500	61	12.20	21	10.50	
501-1000	224	44.80	59	29.50	
1001-1500	56	11.20	11	5.50	
More than 1500	35	7.00	12	6.00	
Average monthly saving	629.00		418.00		5.31
Average annual saving	7548.00		5016.00		

Source: Field survey, 2008-09

Note: * Significant at 10 per cent

** Significant at 5 per cent

*** Significant at 1 per cent

Indebtedness is one of the economic indicators of the level of living of an individual. It was observed that as many as 37.20 per cent and 21.00 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers and local labourers were indebted. There was a significant association between type of labourers and situation of indebtedness as indicated by the chi-square value of 17.07. As many as 12.37 per cent, 11.29 per cent and 21.50 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers had taken up loans for consumption purposes, construction & maintenance of house and social and religious ceremonies. As many as 54.80 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers had taken up loans for other reasons like medical treatment, buying of farming implements and tools, travelling, digging up of wells or setting up tube-wells, etc. On the other hand, the percentages of industrial local labourers that borrowed loans for the above mentioned reasons were 11.90, 21.43, 9.52 and 57.15 per cent respectively. The Z value of 1.76 indicates a significant difference in two types of labourers who took up loans for construction and maintenance of house. The percentage of industrial migrant and local labourers that did not save at all was 24.80 and 48.50 respectively. An individual earns for not only present consumption but also to save for future contingencies. Savings of an individual indicate towards financially secure future. The individuals who save are the ones who are financially aware. However, savings depend upon not only on the will to save but income and expenditure also. The percentages of the industrial migrants and local industrial labourers that saved up-to Rs. 500 were 12.20 and 10.50 respectively. The percentage of the same that saved up-to Rs. 501-1000 was 44.80 and 29.50 respectively, while the percentage of those that saved up-to Rs. 1001-1500 was 11.20 and 5.50 respectively; and that of those who saved more than 1500 was only 7.00 and 6.00 per cent respectively. The reasons for lower savings on the part of the industrial local labourers can be explained by the fact that they had more expenses, larger size of families staying together and better level of living and consumption than migrant labourers.

(iii) Work Related Issues

Since the industrial migrant and local labourers work at the same place it becomes important to compare their status at the work place so as to study the comfort and satisfaction level, of the industrial migrant labourers. The comparison was made for various aspects like choice of work, nature of employment, behaviour of labourers at the factory, hours of routine and overtime work and payment of wages there off, health and safety related issues, provision of benefits other than wages etc. Table 3a shows that 87.00 per cent of the industrial local industrial

Table 3a
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Local Labourers according to Type of Work

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Work of choice					Chi-square
Yes	358	71.60	174	87.00	18.57***
No	142	28.40	26	13.00	
Permanent Employee					2.23
Yes	387	77.40	165	82.50	
No	113	22.60	35	17.50	
Work according to skill					0.04
Yes	484	96.80	193	96.50	
No	16	3.20	7	3.50	

Source: Field survey, 2008-09

*** Significant at 1 per cent

migrant labourers had permanent jobs as compared to 82.50 per cent of industrial local labourers eighty-seven per cent of the local labourers got work in the industrial unit according to their own choice, while the percentage of the industrial migrant labourers that got the same was 71.60. The chi-square value of 18.57 indicates a significant association between the type of labourers and work according to their choice. However, the chi-square value of 2.23 indicates non-significant relationship between type of labourers and status of employment (temporary or permanent) as 77.40 per cent of labourers.

According to the labour laws, an industrial labour should work for 8 hours at a stretch, unless he is paid extra for the overtime work Table 3b exhibits that more of the local labourers (96 per cent) were working for full 8 hours as compared to migrant labourers (81.80 per cent). The chi-square value of 23.72 indicates that there is a significant difference between the type of labour and number of hours of work (8 hours), and that more of the migrant labourers work for more than eight hours which are not acknowledged as overtime work. This explains that the migrant labourers are subjected more to exploitation as compared to the local labourers.

Table 3b
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Local Labourers according to
Work Overtime and Related Issues

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Working hours					
8 hrs	409	81.80	192	96.00	23.72***
More than 8 hrs	91	18.20	8	4.00	
Work overtime					
Yes	165	33.00	19	9.50	40.72***
No	335	67.00	181	90.50	
Number of hours of overtime					
Nil	335	67.00	181	90.50	
Less than 2 hours	85	17.00	15	7.50	
2-4 hours	65	13.00	4	2.00	
More than 4 hours	15	3.00	0	0.00	
Wages for overtime	(N = 165)		(N = 19)		
Yes	145	87.88	19	100.00	
No	20	12.12	0	0	

Source: Field survey, 2008-09

Note: *** Significant at 1 per cent

Since economic factors are the main motivating force to migrate, the migrant labourers are eager to work overtime in order to earn more money. The table highlights that as much as 33 per cent of the migrant labourers were working overtime as compared to 9.50 per cent of local labourers. The chi-square value of 40.72 indicates a significant relation between type of labour and overtime of work. As many as 17 per cent of the migrant labourers as compared to 7.50 per cent of the local labourers worked for less than two hours of overtime. The percentages of the migrant and local labourers that worked for 2-4 hours were 13 per cent and 2 per cent respectively. As much as 3 per cent of the migrants worked for more than 4 hours, while none of the local labourers did so. While all the local labourers received wages for the work overtime but only about 88 per cent of the migrant labourers received the same which highlights that the migrant labourers are discriminated and exploited.

Further Table 3c focuses on the behaviour of all the labourers in the industrial unit. It was found that more than half of the migrant labourers (51.80 per cent), preferred to work with other migrant labourers, while only 27 per cent of the

local labourers preferred to do the same. There was a significant difference between the type of labourers (migrant and local) and preference to work with migrant labourers as shown by the chi-square value of 35.54. Majority of the industrial local labourers (89.50 per cent) expressed that they were comfortable at the place of work as compared to about 67 per cent of the migrant labourers. The chi-square value of 36.01 indicates that there is a significant difference between the type of labourers and their comfort level at work place. Overall, the behaviour of local labourers was found to be good by majority of the labourers, both migrant (97.40 per cent) and local labourers (95 per cent).

Table 3c
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Local Labourers according to
Behaviour of Labourers

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Prefer to work with Other migrant labourers					
Yes	259	51.80	54	27.00	35.54***
No	241	48.20	146	73.00	
Comfortable at work place					
Yes	337	67.40	179	89.50	36.01***
No	163	32.60	21	10.50	
Behaviour of labourers at the factory					
Good	487	97.40	190	95.00	2.59
Bad	0	0.00	0	0.00	
Satisfactory	13	2.60	10	5.00	

Source: Field survey, 2008-09

Note: *** Significant at 1 per cent

It was observed that a little less than one fourth of the sampled migrant labourers (24.80) expressed that their health was being affected at the work place due to the existing working conditions Table 3d. The percentage of the industrial local labourers that expressed the same was about 11 per cent. This shows that more of the migrant labourers were exposed to unsafe working conditions or were appointed at the work stations which affected their health. There was a significant difference between the types of labourers whose health was being affected at work as indicated by 17.79 value of chi-square. Further, there was a significant difference between the types of labourers and the provision of safety at work as indicated by the chi-square value of 4.92, since the percentages

of both migrant and local labourers who reported that there was provision of safety at work were about 56 per cent and 67 per cent, respectively.

Table 3d
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Local Labourers according to Provisions and Facilities Available in the Industrial Unit

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Health affected at factory work					
Yes	124	24.80	21	10.50	17.79***
No	376	75.20	179	89.50	
Provisions for safety at work					
Yes	279	55.80	134	67.00	4.92**
No	203	40.60	66	33.00	
Refreshment free of cost					
Yes	12	2.40	24	12.00	26.99***
No	488	97.60	176	88.00	
Uniform allowance provision					
Yes	146	29.20	129	64.50	4.23***
No	354	70.80	71	35.50	
Overall working conditions					
Good	35	7.00	78	39.00	10.39***
Satisfactory	298	59.60	88	44.00	
Bad	167	33.40	34	17.00	
Extra benefits other than salary					
Yes	331	66.20	159	79.50	12.03***
No	169	33.80	41	20.50	
Amount of wages					t-value
<2700	63	12.60	1	0.50	2.51**
2701-3000	203	40.60	42	21.00	
3001-3300	173	34.60	83	41.50	
>3300	61	12.20	74	37.00	
Index of Wages	2.46		3.15		

Source: Field survey, 2008-09

Note: ** Significant at 5 per cent

*** Significant at 1 per cent

As far as provision of refreshment, free of cost, is concerned, only about 2 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers reported of receiving this as compared to 12 per cent of the local labourers. This again highlights the discrimination and exploitation of the migrant labourers. Similarly, a larger percentage (64.50 per cent) of the industrial local labourers received the uniform allowance as compared to migrant labourers (29.20 per cent). Though the explanation given by the employers was that many of the migrant labourers were recently employed and were on a probation period, hence did not receive any benefits of uniform allowance, still it highlights the favouritism for the locals and discrimination against the migrants. Also, there was a significant difference between the type of labour (migrant and local) and overall working conditions at the place of work as highlighted by the chi-square value of 10.39. As many as 7 per cent, 60 per cent and 33 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers expressed the working conditions to be good, satisfactory and bad, respectively; as compared to 39 per cent, 44 per cent and 17 per cent of the industrial local labourers respectively. As more of the industrial local labourers expressed that the working conditions were good and satisfactory coincides with the fact that these labourers are better off than the migrant labourers which makes them feel superior to the migrants. There was a significant difference between the type of labourers, who reported about getting extra benefits like production incentive, bonus, etc. as indicated by the chi-square value of 12.03. The percentage of migrant labourers who reported of receiving the same was around 66 per cent as compared to nearly 80 per cent of the local labourers. Also, the amount of wages that were paid to the migrant and local labourers varies. Less than 1 per cent of the sampled local labourer received wages less than Rs. 2700 as compared to about 13 per cent of migrant labourers. The percentage of industrial migrant and local labourers that received wages between Rs. 2700 to Rs. 3000 was around 41 per cent and 21 per cent respectively. Nearly 35 per cent of the migrant labourers and 42 per cent of the industrial local labourers received salary varying from Rs. 3000 to Rs. 3300. A larger percentage of local labourers (37 per cent) received wages more than Rs. 3300, as compared to 12 per cent of the migrant labourers. There is a significant difference between the type of labourers (migrant and local) and the wages paid to them as indicated by t-value of 2.51. The index of wages for industrial migrant labourers was 2.46 as compared to 3.51 for industrial local labourers. Since more of the locals were paid higher it exhibits favouritism and biased nature of the employers towards local labourers.

(iv) Behaviour of Employer and Related Issues

It is important to study the comparison between industrial migrant and local labourers regarding behaviour of the employer and treatment at the work place so as to judge any discrimination or favouritism against the industrial migrant labourers. The foregoing analysis in Table 4 shows that 29.40 per cent of the industrial migrant labourers expressed that the behaviour of their employer is good, while 2.20 per cent reported it to be bad and 68.40 reported it to be

satisfactory. The percentage of the industrial local labourers who expressed the above mentioned behaviours was 20.50, 6.00 and 73.50 respectively. There was a significant relationship between the two types of labourers those expressed the behaviour of the employer to be good, bad and satisfactory as indicated by the Z value of 11.02. As many as 14.40 per cent and 8.50 per cent of the industrial migrant and local labourers faced discrimination at the time of recruitment.

Table 4
Distribution of Industrial Migrant and Industrial Local Labourers
according to Behaviour of Employer and Related Issues

Status	Migrant Labourers		Local Labourers		Significance
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Behaviour of employer					
Good	147	29.40	41	20.50	11.02***
Bad	11	2.20	12	6.00	
Satisfactory	342	68.40	147	73.50	
Discrimination at the time of recruitment					
Yes	72	14.40	17	8.50	4.48**
No	428	85.60	183	91.50	
Discrimination at routine work					
Yes	85	17.00	19	9.50	6.35***
No	415	83.00	181	90.50	
Wages Refused					
Yes	51	10.20	6	3.00	9.90***
No	449	89.80	194	97.00	
Abuse/manhandling by Labour In charge					
Yes	111	22.20	22	11.00	11.64***
No	389	77.80	178	89.00	

Source: Field Survey, 2008-2009

Note: ** Significant at 5 per cent

*** Significant at 1 per cent

The chi-square value of 4.48 indicates a significant difference between the two types of labourers and discrimination faced at the time of recruitment. As much as 17.00 per cent and 9.50 per cent of the industrial migrant and local labourers felt the discrimination during the routine work. The Z value of 6.35

shows a significant relationship between the two types of labourers and discrimination faced by them during the routine work. The percentage of industrial migrant and local labourers that reported about refusal of wages for their work was 10.20 and 3.00 respectively. The association between the two types of labourers those were denied wages was significant as indicated by 9.90 value of Z test. As many as 22.20 and 11.00 per cent of the industrial migrant and local labourers respectively, reported that they were abused and manhandled in the industrial unit during the routine work which indicates a low level of respect, mistreatment and exploitation of the labourers at the industrial units in which the migrants were worse off.

Among the local labourers working in Ludhiana city, all were males while among the migrants that were working in the industries of Ludhiana city, some were females. A larger number of migrant labourers were married as compared to the locals, which explains their need to earn money to sustain their families. However, the need to earn more money and upliftment of the economic status was observed more in the locals as compared to the migrants as more of the industrial local labourers had their wives working in Ludhiana city but not in the industries. The need of the locals to have more than one earning individual is explainable by the fact that they have more social obligations in Ludhiana city and are aware of good living and educational standards and thus require more money for the same. The educational levels of local labourers were better off than the migrant labourers. They were more aware about their fundamental rights as majority of them possessed voter cards and voted according to their own will as compared to the migrants.

The locals have been staying with their families in Ludhiana forever and thus, owned houses which had all facilities like electricity, bathroom/toilet, water supply and durables that made life comfortable, as compared to the migrants who did not have these because they kept on migrating from one place to another and they had to save money to remit back home. Thus, they took up rented accommodations or stayed in *jhugis* or *kutchahouses*. A larger proportion of industrial local labourers owned cattle/livestock as compared to the migrants as the industrial migrant labourers did not have adequate finance and place to keep them. The local labourers lived with their families, had social obligations and were under a pressure to achieve better levels of living, consequently, they were forced to spend more and save nothing or less amounts as compared to the migrants who migrated with the sole purpose of earning more and improving the economic status of their families at native place. The industrial local labourers have been staying in the city forever, so they needed to construct or maintain their houses and hence, required finance for which, majority of them had availed loans as compared to a lesser proportion of the industrial migrant labourers.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILD RIGHTS: UNITED NATIONS PERSPECTIVE

*Sukhwinder Singh**

Child rights is the branch of human rights, as it emerges from the notion of human rights, but there is difference between the both. Child rights are limited in sphere as compare to human rights. Child rights are only for children while human rights are special sort of inalienable entitlement, they attach to all persons equally, by virtue of their humanity, irrespective of race, nationality or membership of any particular social group.¹ These rights are necessary for the all rounded development of an individual. Moreover, these rights also make individuals life free from fear, harassment or discrimination because these are concerned with equality and fairness.

Human rights do not emerge exclusively. These rights are the product of historical, cultural and socio-political experiences of their societies. Modern conceptions of human rights have their origins in the theory of natural law in Greco-Roman and early Christian writings as reflected in the Magna Carta of 1215.² The concept of human right was developed largely in European and American philosophical thought through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Bill of Rights of England 1688, the French Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen 1789 and the American Bill of Rights 1789 all were landmarks on the road to human right.³ But these all were Western standard of human rights and liberties while, in modern time this Western notion has been epitomized in the United Nations system of protection of human rights. Under the aegis of the United Nations a comprehensive list of human rights and instruments has been formulated which deal with such issues such as refugees, women, children, prevention of torture, religious and racial discrimination, genocide, slavery and minorities etc.⁴

In the 20th century, the growth of totalitarian regimes and the atrocities of World War-II made the protection of human rights an international priority. During World War-II the Holocaust of Nazi Germany's genocide against Gypsies and

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1. Jain Mclean and Alistair McMillan, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2005, p.251.
2. Andrew Jones, *Dictionary of Globalization*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2006, pp.124-125.
3. M. G. Gupta, *Encyclopaedia of Contemporary International Affairs*, Y.K. Publishers, Shahganj Agra, 1986, p.28.
4. Abdulrahim. P. Vijapur, "Diversity of Concepts of Human Rights", *World Affairs*, Vol.2, No.4, Oct-Dec.1998, p.22.

others was a powerful impetus to the development of human rights movement.⁵ Immediately after Second World War the United Nations, was established. The Charter of this organization reaffirmed its faith in fundamental human rights. Thus, the establishment of UN and high scale violation of human rights during second world created awareness in the member nations of UN regarding the protection of human rights. For this reason on 10 Dec., 1948 UN General Assembly adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) which was supplemented by two covenants (1966). The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights were the most significant as they together constitute a first International Bill of Rights. The human rights enshrined in the International Bill proclaimed that it was universally applicable to all the people and nations irrespective of their divergent social, cultural, political, economic and ideological traditions. The UDHR and the preambles of its two 1966 Covenants stated that these rights represent a common standard of achievements for all peoples and nations.⁶ This Declaration was the best know and most cited human rights document in the world which covered every area of human life and activity. By the late 1990's about 140 states (United Nations membership was 185 in 1999) had formally adhered to the International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights and the companion International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.⁷ After the adoption of UDHR, UN adopted many conventions, covenants and protocols regarding the protection of human rights. Now, the promotion and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms must be considered as primary objective of the United Nations. In the framework of these purposes and principles, the promotion and protection of all human rights is a legitimate concern of international community. All human rights—civil, cultural, economic, political and social, including right to development are universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated, as expressed in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference on Human Rights.⁸

Besides UN, regional arrangements are also more impressive regarding the protection of human rights. The Universal Declaration inspired three regional human rights instruments. The Council of Europe adopted a European Convention on Human Rights in 1950, by which it established the European Commission and Court of Human Rights. Many years later, in 1969, the Organization of American states adopted a similar Convention of Human Rights and the Organization of African Unity adopted in 1981, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

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5. Margaret P. Karns and Karen A. Mingst, *Intonation Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance*, Viva Books Private Limited, New Delhi, 2005, p.415.
 6. Vijapur, n.4, pp.22-23.
 7. David P. Forsythe, *Human Rights In International Relations*, Cambridge University Press, New York, 2006, p.4.
 8. *Indian Institute of Human Rights*, 1993 Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, 2.4, New Delhi, pp.2-3.

These three regional treaties of human rights entered into force in 1953, 1978 and 1986 respectively.⁹ Today we live in a civilized society where human rights have received recognition through universal instruments.

Now along with UN many NGOs play an important role in the process of growing attention to the protection of human rights. In present time the concept of human rights has become an echoing word in International politics and a staple of UN activities. Thus, for this reason Thomas Franck, a Professor of International Law at New York University tells that human rights standards are universal.¹⁰ It is a Chinese saying;

If you have to plan for a year, sow corn.

If you have to plan for a generation, plant trees.

If you have to plan for life, train and educate children.

The most important assets of a nation are its human resources which should be developed into matured human beings to enable them to contribute to their own welfare and to mankind as a whole. Children are a precious gift of God to mankind and most precious assets of any nation. They keep the lamp of life burning, thus demand highest priority on international front. Future of our civilization depends upon the way we bring our children for growing into adulthood- mentally, physically and morally strong. They have to be ensured of a congenial environment and proper shelter, clothing, diet and education. Unless a new vision for a viable human society comes out, our future generations will continue to miss out on the right to develop as full human beings. The status of childhood entails many disabilities that render the child vulnerable and dependent on adult and community. For this reason, it is universally acknowledged that children are entitled to special care and assistance.¹¹

Human Rights Commission's Chairperson Pixie Yangailo says, "children are more vulnerable than any other group in society owing to their physical, emotional and psychological immaturity and their consequent dependency on adult".¹² Thus, for this reason children need special protection from any kind of exploitation, hamper their growth and development of personality potentials.

Before describing about child's rights it is essential here to understand 'who is child?' or what is the meaning of children?' Traditionally a child has been defined as an individual who is not yet an adult.¹³ But the idea that children have rights, relatively has a recent origin and related to the concept of childhood and

9. Abdulrahim. P. Vijapur and K. Savitri, "The International Convention on Human Rights: An Overview", *India Quarterly, a Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. LXII, No.2, April-June, 2006, p.5.

10. Richard W. Mansbach and Edward Rhodes, *Global Politics in a Changing World*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 2006, p.235

11. Andrew Bainham, *The International Survey of Family Law*, Jordans Publisher, UK, 2001, p.268.

12. *The Times of Zambia* (Ndolo), 21 January 2008.

13. Geraldine Van Buren, *The International Law on the Rights of Child*, Martinus Nijhoff Publisher, Dordrecht, Boston and London, 1995, p.33.

the notion of a child.¹⁴ Freeman gives answer of the question ‘who is child?’, he says that who impose their conceptions of childness on being they consider to be child.¹⁵ In a general life word child is used for small children especially those under the ten years of age. But the definition of child under the Convention on the Rights of Child (CRC), all human beings under age of 18 unless the relevant national law recognizes an earlier age of majority.¹⁶ Similar to this definition African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child define, “a child is every human being below the age of 18 years.”¹⁷ In simple words, person (boy or girl) under the age of 18 years is called a child.

It is easy to assume that biological and psychological fact determine the notion of childhood. It is a common belief that childhood as currently understood is relatively recent creation. Children were treated differently in different periods of time and cultures. The most interesting interpretation of childhood was in Philippe Aries’s study *Centuries of Childhood* in which he argued that the concept of childhood was invented in Europe in seventeenth century.¹⁸ While the concept of child did not exist in middle ages as claimed by Kruithof, and Noordman.¹⁹ The juristic concept for the protection of child as a legal person developed during the last two centuries. Children’s right thought is an idea with a long heritage. The movement of child right was started in the middle of the nineteenth century, when an article with the title *The Right of Children* appeared as early as June 1852 and in France Jean Valle established a league for the protection of the right of children in France after the Paris Commune.²⁰ Another writer Kate Douglas Wiggins’s *A Book of Nursery Logic* was published in 1892 which emphasized on the distinct needs of the child. All these steps encourage children right movement during nineteenth century.²¹

In the early 20th century a movement began to promote the idea of children’s right as distinct from adults, when the child protection laws were adopted in Europe, such as the Belgian Law of 1912. Article 15 of this law literally states that

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14. 64th International Federation of Library Association General Conference, August 16- August 21, 1998.
 15. Marian Koren, “Human Rights of Children: An Emerging Story”, *The Lion and Unicorn*, Vol.25, Issue.2, 2002, p.244.
 16. Convention on the Rights of Child, 1989, Article, 1. See also, K.K. Verma, “What are Child Rights”, *Yojana*, November, 2008, p. 21
 17. African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Childs, 1990, Article 2.
 18. M.D.A. Freeman, *The Rights and Wrongs of Children*, Frances Pinter, London and Dover N.H, 1983, p.8; See also, Philip Aries, *Centuries of Childhood*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1962, p.127
 19. Philip E. Veerman, *The Rights of the Child and the Changing Image of Childhood*, Martinus Nijhoff Publisher, Dordrecht, Boston and London, 1992, p.3.
 20. B. Gopalkrishnan, *Rights of Children*, Avishkar Publishers, Jaipur, 2004, p.56. See also M. D. A. Freeman, *The Rights and Wrongs of Children*, Frances Pinter, London and Dover N.H, 1983, p.21.
 21. Freeman, n.18, p.18; See also, Douglas Wiggins, *Children’s Rights*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston and London, 1892, p.2.

minors 'who undertake activities which might lead to crime' can be dealt with by the courts i.e. predelinquency.²² *Ealantyn Jebb* of England first started an international movement for the protection of child and providing the child with a status.²³

The very first efforts at the international level to adopt legal standards relating to the rights of the child can be traced back to the League of Nations, when a special committee was established to deal with the question relating to the protection of children and various relevant conventions were adopted, including the 1921 International Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children and the 1926 Slavery Convention.²⁴ At international level children rights first attracted international attention after the first world war when the Declaration of the Rights of Child 1924 was adopted by the fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, which can be seen as the first international instrument dealing with children's rights.²⁵ It emphasized on children's material needs for their development. This declaration was important because it established internationally the concept of the rights of child, thereby laying foundation for setting future international standards in the field of children's rights.

Thirty five years later, the league's successor, the UN adopted a Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, but the children rights had not specifically mentioned in this declaration.²⁶ Even with the advent of the era of human rights after World War-II, it was assumed that all human rights applied automatically to children. However in reality they were denied to them. Particular needs of the children were not addressed specifically in human right instruments and children faced various forms of abuses and problems (Labour, Sexual exploitation, military recruitment, malnutrition etc).²⁷ Recognizing the fact that the children are vulnerable to various forms of abuse and problems, UN General Assembly adopted ten point Declaration on the Rights of Child on November 20, 1959. This was the first standard setting United Nations instrument exclusively related to the rights of children. After this Declaration in Dec. 1976, the United Nations adopted a resolution which proclaimed 1979 as International Year of Child with a view to create awaking

22 Eugene Verhellen, *Convention on the Rights of Child: Background, Motivation and Strategies*, Garant Publishers, Belgium, 2000, p.55.

23 Jagannath Mohanty, *Human Rights Education*, Deep Publication, New Delhi, 2000, p.233.

24 Sharon Detrick, *A Commentary on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child*, Martinus Nijhoff Publisher, Dordrecht, Boston and London, 2000, p.13.

25 Asha Bajpai, *Child Rights in India: Law Policy and Practice*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2003, p.15; See also, Chanlett and Morier, "Declaration of Child", *International Child Welfare Review*, Vol.5, No.3, 1968, p.22.

26 Freeman, n.18, p.19. See also, O.O'neill and W. Ruddick, *Philosophical and Legal Reflection on Parenthood*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1979, p.111.

27 Dr. S. Subramanian, *Human Rights International Challenges*, Manas Publication, New Delhi, 1997, p. 115.

regarding the protection of children rights.²⁸

Exactly 30 years after the adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Child and 10 years after the International Year of Child, on November 20, 1989 (resolution 44/25) UN General Assembly adopted a Convention on the Rights of Child. Less than one year later, it entered into force on September 1990. At the moment 191 countries have ratified the convention.²⁹ Only the United States of America and Somalia have as yet failed to ratify it.³⁰ This means it was almost universal ratification, which was unique in the history of human rights instruments. The CRC gave children their basic human rights civil, economic, social, cultural and political rights that enable children to achieve full potential. CRC consist of a preamble and 54 Articles, which was divided in three parts. Part I (Articles 1 to 41) contains the substantive provisions of the CRC, part II (Articles 42 to 45) cover its implementation provisions, and part III (Articles 46 to 54) provides for a number of final clauses.³¹

The only international implementation mechanism provided in the CRC is the system of periodic reporting by State parties to the relevant human rights treaty body, the Committee on the Rights of Child.³² Now along with UN Committee on the Rights of Child many UN bodies, special agencies and NGOs like the International Labour Organization, the United Nation Children Fund and the World Health Organization do work for the protection of the rights of child. In 1993 the world conference of human rights in particular recognized that the rights of children constitute a priority for action within the UN system.³³

Regional arrangements also exist for the protection of children. Regional human rights instrument for the protection of children were adopted by the Council of Europe, the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Organization of Africa Unity (OAS).³⁴ Africa Union manifested not only a Convention on the Rights and Welfare of Children, but also formulated an African Committee of experts on the rights and welfare of the children. Like African Union, the Council of Europe and Organization of American states created instruments for the protection of children's rights.

28 Gopalkrishnan, n.20, p.7. See also, Paulo David, "Implementing the Rights of the Child Six Reasons Why the Human Rights of Children Remain a Constant Challenge", *International Review of Education*, Vol. 48, No. ¾, July 2002. p. 259; See also, Dominic Mc Goldrick, "The United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child", *International Journal of Law and the Family*, Vol. 5, 1991, p.132.

29 Verhellen, n.22, p.9. See also, K.K. Verma, "What are Child Rights", *Yojana*, November, 2008. p. 21.

30 Philip Alston and James Crawford, *The Future of UN Human Rights Treaty Monitoring*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.113.

31 Detrick, n.24, p.21.

32 Ibid., p.24.

33 www.Unicef.org/crc/index30198.

34 Bajpai, n.25, p.23.

General human rights that every human possess, universally, simply by reason of being a human also apply on child. Ms Albenez of UNICEF says, "the child emerges as an individual with dignity who has all the rights of full human being".³⁵ Van Boven, a former director of the UN division on human rights also says that children's rights are an integral part of human rights.³⁶ Thus, for this reason the violation of children's rights are violation of Human Rights. But, Hillary Rodham has described that children rights is a slogan which is in search of a definition.³⁷

35 *United Nations Background Note*, United Nation Department of Public Information, DPI/1765/HR, Dec. 1995.

36 *Supra*, n.15.

37 Freeman, n.18, p.32.

BOOK-REVIEW

***Human Society, History and Culture*, by Dr. Rattan Amol Singh Sidhu, published by Unistar Books Pvt. Ltd. Chandigarh, 2012, pp. 403, price Rs. 695/-.**

This book is in 403 pages including the bibliography and is worth reading. It is split up into 8 chapters- Concept of Society, Man as Social Reality, Woman in Society, Institution of Marriage- Varying Perceptions, Rituals in the Marriages, Forms of Marriages, Two, Three and More and Family - An inter-connected relationship. Thus the book ends at 288 page, after that the author has given various appendixes such as about Hinduism, Islam and Marriage Laws, Jews and Judaism, Christians and Christianity. In the second appendix the author discusses Adultery, Bigamy, Fanaticism cum Sentiments, Forms (Types) of Marriages, Harem(s), *Kotha* System, Slavery and Slave Tradition and Vital Gender Organs. It is followed by peculiar appendix which explains Four *Yugs*, in the end of the book bibliography is enclosed.

The author very clearly states history of the human society and opines that culture is always based on the socio-historic sources; Sidhu states various forms of human societies in this work. The book deals with various family systems as well as other social activities of men since the inception of this universe. For example status of men as well as the status and condition of women in the societies which existed at different times. A comparative study, particularly on marriage and its forms, family system, different religious and other activities of various societies/communities in India and also in other parts of the world have also been dealt within this work. A special chapter that deals with various types of marriages; particular attention has been paid to polyandry and polygamous types of marriages, also some other types of marriages in various societies of India and also of foreign countries along with legal aspects of social activities of human beings, especially in different communities, is also discussed in detail. Different appendixes along with sources have also been included in the work to add further knowledge about the family system and various social aspects of our existing societies. Some of these may be called evil as well.

Rattan Amol Singh Sidhu opens his writings with a preface in which he talks about God's gifts i.e. the creation of human beings and other features in this universe. He tells about the grace of God and then he talks of gender system, while interpreting he writes that there is human being with sexual organs and from the traditional legal intercourse after marriages. He very vividly gives a picture of family life, social system, importance of *Devi Devtas* in human life and finally talks about death which is the reality of life. In brief, the present book is based on a socio-historic source which mentions the human being societies into various

forms in this universe. Of course, many topics which reflect its robust and aromatic style about the Indian society and some social institutions are incorporated to make it useful and exhaustless to the readers of history and sociology as well. The present work presents a systematic, reliable and in a scientific manner study of several Indian and some other countries, social institutions and also with few appendixes relating to existing social system of the society.

The author seems possessing a minute and detailed knowledge about the concept of society. He explains this in a very minute and detailed manner (in 25 pages). Then he writes about man and social reality in about 13 pages with heavy references. Major portion of the book is related to woman gender. Woman in society has been explained in a very critical manner in nearly 80 pages, in these pages he talks of various sections of the society and about various societies of European East, South East, Middle East countries. In the next chapter he talks about institution of marriage-varying perceptions, his this chapter is spread over 38 pages in which he gives a critical analysis of the institution of marriage. It too relates to different societies and the importance of institutions has been very minutely dealt with. Rituals in the Marriages, Hindu Marriages, Muslim Marriages, System of Jews Marriages, System of Christian Marriages, System of Sikh Marriages and different ceremonies related to these marriages have been discussed at length in a separate chapter. Various forms of marriages have been given; for instance he talks first about the ancient period marriage system where he discusses Endogamy especially during the Rig Vedic, Vedic and even early period; he also discusses the medieval period; he talks of Hypergamy, Exogamy, Inter-Caste Marriage System, Group Marriage System, Monogamy System. Each of the system has been discussed briefly but his explanation and interpretation is valuable because it is supported by authentic references. The author when talks of Polyandry Marriage System then he writes about the safety of wife and children from strangers; large number of men and women of some tribes, he talks of their security and also of the family property. He states that polyandry was there due to struggle for life and polyandry too existed due to poverty. The author has taken up it on the basis of this fact; polygamy alias polygamy marriages systems have been highlighted by the author in a meaningful. Family an interconnected relationship is the last chapter of the book in which the author has highlighted the role of family in the society of the world. He emphasizes that the family forms the backbone of our social structure. He also writes that there was a time when sexual communism prevailed in the society of the world. Though, family is a social institution which has been devoted in order to satisfy certain very basic biological, psychological and social needs of men. He has discussed various theories relating to family system, as has been given by numberless sociologists, historians and he even adds his own perception and views. The author talks about all the sections of the universe social order. He writes about Christians, he writes about primitive family system and then he talks of Buddhist and Hindu family system. In brief, he builds up his theory on the basis of various family systems which prevailed from time to

time in the universal social order. He believes, man can not survive without family. All the views given by the author related to various aspects of social life, he has supported these views with some appendixes with sources.

However, the present work has few weaknesses as well. I understand the chapterization could have been given more attention and care. Particularly, the chapters related to women in society would have been dealt with more care. Chapter fourth and fifth could be clubbed because rituals related to marriages is the part of institution of marriage and their perceptions. In the same manner chapter sixth and seventh could have been clubbed because in the sixth chapter the author discusses the forms of marriages whereas in chapter seven, he talks about two-three and more is also the part of the forms of marriages. Family -an interconnected relationship has been discussed quite in brief. There was a scope of more discussion and more interpretation regarding the family system that has prevailed in the various societies at various times. The author has not taken the care about the getup and printing of the book. The work is very valuable and authentic but its presentation is not very appealing and impressive. Moreover, grammatical mistakes are there which would not have been there. Despite its weaknesses, I congratulate Rattan Amol Singh Sidhu for his interest, labour and a sense of responsibility in his writing and placing this work in the hands of the readers—scholars, students and commoners.

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BOOK-REVIEW

***Punjabi Journalism : Issues And Concerns*, by Dr. Joginder Singh, Publication Bureau, Punjabi University, Patiala, pp. i-xv+186, Price. Rs. 200/-**

The media as an instrument for propagation had to be recognised due to pressure of developments under the colonial structure. Role of regional journalism has also attracted historical scholarship when after Emmett Davis's book, the present work is the second in that genre. Its focus is on the emergence of the Punjabi Journalism during the period from 1900 to 1947 with five chapters that include : Communitarian interest ; Akalis, Babbar Akalis and the Sikh Ghadrtes in the service of Panth and *Watan*; ideological proliferation among the Sikh leadership and activists and struggling against the partition politics.

The study informed that the process of evolution of the Punjabi Journalism was initiated by the Sikhs. Several dozens of Punjabi periodicals and newspapers were being published daily, weekly, fortnightly or monthly. Their proprietors, publishers, editors and columnists came from professional middle classes with urban background, rural agricultural castes joined in the 20th century. Thrust of writings was on the socio-religious and political under-currents affecting the community. In that context, the Singh Sabha, Ghadar, Akali and Babbar Akali movements along with the tangle of partition have been examined. Background of the proprietors, editors and financiers has also been attempted to understand their ideological stances.

Since its inception, these journalistic writings perceived a threat to the Sikh identity from Hindu fundamentalists, left intelligentsia and gurudom. Protection and promotion of political and constitutional rights of the Sikhs in response to the communal Electorates introduced by the British along with policies of the Congress and Muslim League occupied the space. But the response from the moderates and the radicals varied; though both had to confront the stand of the Muslim League in the 1940's.

On the other it is noted that the professional leadership came from lower middle classes; a large number of them were the Khatri, Arora and Brahmin Sikhs. They were urban based and later on were joined by the rural educated Sikhs. They acted as ideologues of the Akalis and Babbar Akalis. The Jathedars and Akali followers came from peasantry, artisans and menial castes; next were from military and the immigrants. The Babbar Akalis were closer to the Sikh Ghadrtes in terms of modes of struggle.

The Gurdwara Act of 1925 brought ideological differences among the Sikh leaders. It was also a legal trap for the community by making electoral politics an

integral part of functioning of the S.G.P.C. Groupism emerged so the intervention from Sikh Sardars and the Maharaja of Patiala. Along side, revolutionary, socialist and communist ideas emerged with the Ghadrites, Hindustan Socialist Republics and the Kirties. These organisations had their base among Sikh peasantry, artisans and working classes. Akalis took them as their political rivals and to counteract their influence they diverted to the peasant issues. For them the communists were Russian agents, anti-Sikhs and anti-India because of their support to the Pakistan demand; being atheists were considered threat to the Sikhs.

Congress was criticised for its lack of conviction to fight against Muslim League on its' Pakistan agenda. But the League perceived Congress as an Hindu Organisation, though Jinnah wanted to establish League's hold on Bengal, Punjab and Sindh. Savarkar's argument that only Hindus had the right to rule was rejected by the Akalis. Criticism of the Lahore Resolution, debate on Pakistan and Sikhs' failure were the other issues to be commented upon. Weakened positions of the Sikhs was assigned to the factional politics of Akali and Congress Sikhs along with reflection of a latent sense of betrayal and helplessness of the Sikhs. However, the development of Punjabi journalism in Gurmukhi script immensely strengthened the Punjabi language and made it synonymous with the Sikhs.

Thus the study makes an interesting analysis of the issues, debates and the projection of events during the period chosen and constitutes an important addition to the understanding of the Punjabi journalism under colonial situations. It would have further enhanced its contribution had the justification of the period selected along with its focus only on Punjabi language media be given some explanation.

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